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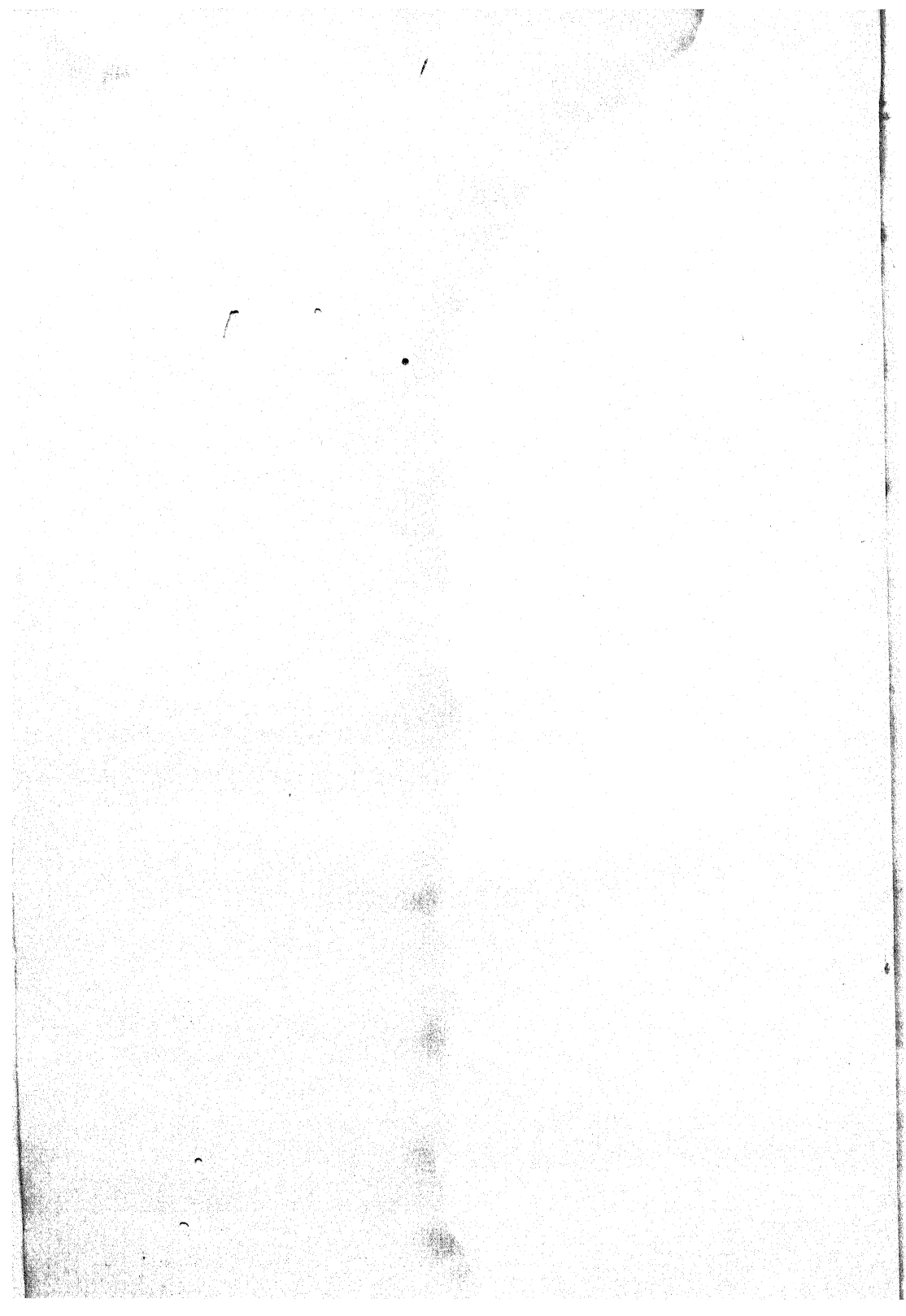
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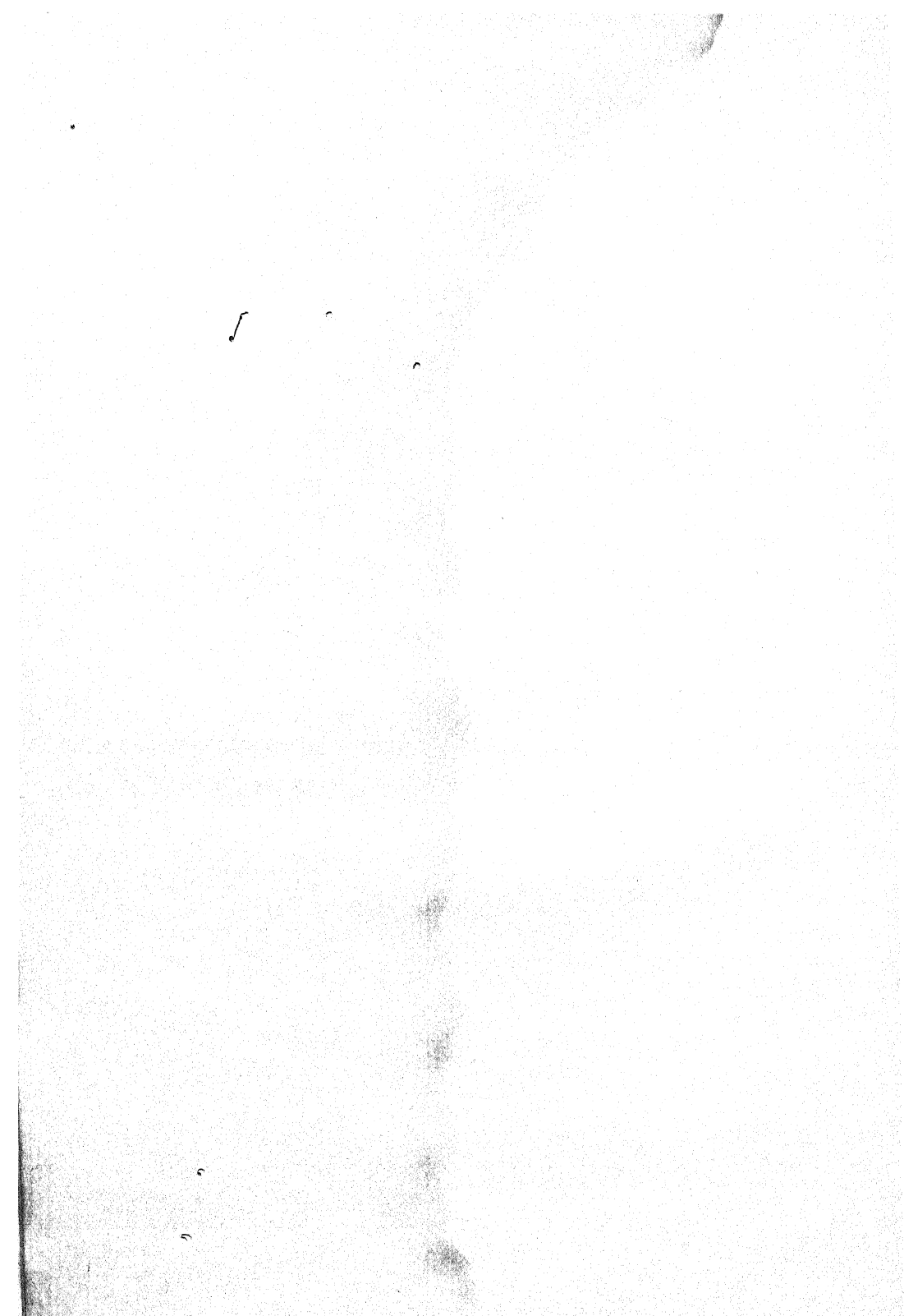
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ARTS

SECTION I

ENGLISH



Allahabad University Studies

VOL IX

1932

NO. 9

MODERN ENGLISH POETRY (1890—1930)

BY

BHAWANI SHANKAR

In the year of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, the solemn strains of Mr. Kipling's *Recessional* came like the music of a death-song. People had been "drunk with the sight of power," but

"Far called, our navies melt away;
On dune and headland sinks the fire:
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Ninevah and Tyre."

A great age was passing away. It had known much, and, therefore, suffered much. Thought had traversed new grounds. Science had contributed to the comfort of man—and to the discomfort of his soul. Religion had brought in terrible heart-wrenchings. In literature the age had been as rich as various. It had known the cataclysmic apostrophies of Carlyle and the noble dithyrambics of Ruskin, the humanitarian laughter of Dickens and the pungent dissertations of Thackeray. Mighty cataracts of eloquence had flowed through the Parliament. The exquisite cadences of Tennyson had soothed

the Victorians in moments of their unbearable heartaches. Many of them found the metaphysical *grotesquerie* of Browning a pleasant escape—or distraction—from life. There were lesser luminaries past number.

I

The year 1890 is a convenient year in the literary history of England. About this year a group of younger people came into prominence. They were discontented with—well, they could not exactly say. Only something had been wrong somewhere; and, very wrong indeed! Something grave, something solemn hung over them like miasma. A Frenchman spoke irreverently of “the musty virtues and moth-eaten chastities” of their elders. They turned to the French Decadents and imitated them. Truth and Art? That was the shibboleth of a past age, they thought. Aubrey Beardsley and Oscar Wilde started a new fashion in art—æstheticism. Wilde protested against the decay of the art of lying. Walter Pater and John Addington Symonds—they said, Beauty quickens the pulsations of life. Why not intensify life—life that is so fleeting—by bringing it under the influence of Beauty? A Rhymers’ Club was formed. Arthur Symonds, Ernest Dawson, Lionel Johnson, and others wrote for it. Urban dissipation, flashy wit, and a conventional imagery of roses, lilies, scents, characterised their poetry. They suffered from *ennui* and so did not scruple to drink heavily.

“ I have forgot much, Cynara! gone with the wind,
 Flung roses, roses, riotously with the throng,
 Dancing, to put thy pale, lost lilies out of mind;
 But I was desolate and sick of an old passion,
 Yea, all the time, because the dance was long;
 I have been faithful to thee, Cynara! in my fashion.

I cried for madder music, and for stronger wine,
 But when the feast is finished and the lamps expire,
 Then falls thy shadow, Cynara! the night is thine;
 And I am desolate and sick of an old passion,

Yea, hungry for the lips of my desire:

I have been faithful to thee, Cynara! in my fashion."

—Ernest Dawson; *Non Sum Qualis Eram
 bonoe sub regno Cynarae.*

This is the "music of sadness," the only kind of music Dawson knew. (*Aldous Huxley.*)

The Celtic Revival started with a definite programme for national regeneration. In a then famous controversy with "John Eglinton" (W. K. Magee), Mr. William Butler Yeats declared:

"I believe that all men will more and more reject the opinion that poetry is a 'criticism of life' and be more and more convinced that it is a revelation of hidden life."

The poet became a mystic. He adopted symbolism to "reveal the hidden life," the Infinite beyond the finite. Mr. Yeats and his compatriot "A. E." (Mr. George Russel) came under the influence of the French Symbolists, of Maurice Maeterlink specially, and Ibsen and Blake and Shelley. Their poetry became elfish and eerie. A languorous melancholy and a mystic yearning of the soul, a sense of haunting sweetness characterise their works.

Mr. Yeats and "A. E." had a host of imitators in whom symbolism degenerated into mannerism and poetic imagery and diction became stultified. Stephen Phillips distinguished himself for deep pathos and tenderness:

"The half of music, I have heard men say,
 Is to have grieved."

—*Marpessa.*

and Francis Thompson for the gorgeousness of colour and imagery :

“ Across the margent of the world I fled,
 And troubled the gateways of the stars,
 Smiting for shelter on their chang'd bars:
 Fretted to dulcet jars,
 And silvern chatter the pale ports o' the
 moon.”

—*The Hound of Heaven.*

John Davidson's poetry served as “ tonic for extreme Celticism and for pseudo-Parisian decadence alike.” Sir William Watson's polished diction and epigrammatic style and his deep sympathy have made him famous for finished critical poetry of high order.

Dr. Robert Bridges with his robust English temper showed that freshness of form could be achieved without exotic imagery or theme. In his lyrics he attained an almost Anglo-Saxon simplicity :

“ I will not let thee go—
 I hold thee by too many bands :
 Thou sayest farewell, and lo !
 I have thee by the hands,
 And will not let thee go.”

But in spite of the purity of his art his thought has chilled Beauty into Truth as Keats' love had enlivened Truth into Beauty !

In 1896 Mr. A. E. Housman published *A Shropshire Lad*. Its dormant yet virile pessimism came as a curious contrast to the “ hen-pecked ” philosophy of Tennyson and the crazy energy of Browning, even to the anathematizing indignation of Thomas Hardy. Its pessimism was deeper and more poignant, because more human, than

the pessimism of Matthew Arnold (or even of James Thomson) which only counted the loss of spiritual values. Never before had the inevitable tragedy of every-day life found such utterance in poetry. The tense intensity, the chiselled diction and the classical restraint of Mr. Housman have made his lyrics unbearably powerful. The poet's vision is full of catastrophic gloom:

“ Now, hollow fires burn out to black,
And lights are guttering low :
Square your shoulders, lift your pack,
And leave your friends and go.
Oh, never fear, man, nought's to dread,
Look not left nor right :
In all the endless road you tread
There's nothing but the night.”

—*LX.*

and of disenchantment from life :

“ Dust is your wages, son of sorrow
But men may come to worse than dust.”

—*XLIV.*

and of disenchantment from men :

“ . . . I see
In many an eye that measures me
The mortal sickness of a mind
Too unhappy to be kind.
Undone with misery, all they can
Is to hate their fellow-man;
And till they drop they needs must still
Look at you and wish you ill.”

—*XLI.*

II

The poets of the twentieth century have been classified into various groups. There are those who led the Edwardian reaction—G. K. Chesterton, Hillaire Belloc, John Masefield, Wilfrid Gibson, W. J. Turner, Iolo A. Williams. There are the Georgians—Rupert Brooke, Walter de la Mare, Ralph Hodgson, James Stephens, John Freeman, James Elroy Flecker, Julian Grenfell, Lascelles Abercrombie, Laurence Binyon, Gordon Bottomley, John Drinkwater, Harold Monro, Edward Marsh, J. C. Squire, Edward Shanks;—the Imagists like H (ilda) D (olittle) and F. S. Flint and (at one time) Richard Aldington;—nature poets like W. H. Davies, Edmund Blunden, Edward Thomas;—the traditionalists like Bridges, Yeats, Kipling and Thomas Hardy;—the experimentalists like Robert Graves, Edith, Osbert and Sacheverell Sitwell, T. S. Eliot, E. E. Cummings;—the War poets C. H. Sorley, Siegfried Sassoon, Wilfrid Owen, Robert Nichols. And yet there are the Exotics, the Fantastics, the Impressionists, the Realists, the *vers libristes*, the 'Wheels' groups. These labels are good for the polemics of poetical coteries; and we shall rather discuss the tendencies of contemporary poetry than the poetic theories and personal characteristics of different cliques or leaders of fashion! The eddies of currents and cross-currents of caprice and theory should not make us forgetful of the fact that there are deeper springs of poetry as vital and perennial as ever.

III

With the progress of time a reshuffling of the poetic values—and, indeed, of all values—becomes necessary. When it is done deliberately it is called "revolt." A revolt without a constructive programme brings death or

decadence; but with it, it is a sign of progress. In its initial violence, it may bring temporary confusion and even chaos. Ultimately it restores the pendulum to its normal swing.

Modern poetry is the poetry of revolt. It had to be so. In the nineteenth century, "poetic vocabulary had been drained to its lees." (*Harold Monro*.) The leaven of romance was already crusting into social philosophy, into democracy, and humanitarianism and propaganda! The revolt was not purposeless. The language had to be rejuvenated. The range of poetic subject-matter had to be widened. And yet the revolt must travail amidst angry protests and loud wailings. Mr. Alfred Noyes spoke of "a general flood of half-educated mediocrity." (*Aspects of Modern Poetry*.) Mr. Roy Campbell described modern poetry as "an epidemic of intellectual and emotional diarrhoea." (*Scrutinies*, Vol. I) Mr. Gilbert Armitage in the second volume of *Scrutinies* (1931) which is free from the critical vitriol of its predecessor explained that "the timidity, the effort, the querulousness, the thinness of all the best modern poetry" was due to a "sterile dualism" in the poet, to a "fissure within himself" that corresponds to "the fissure between him and his society."

It is true much of modern poetry is experimental and, as such, has only an ephemeral value. Much of its eccentricity is symptomatic of a desire for change and freshness. Tenuity of thought or puerility of effort is not the characteristic of any one age. It is of all ages. The so-called lack of scholarship among modern poets, and the consequent lack of a capacity for sustained thought are a popular fallacy. Mr. Abercrombie's lyric impulse is restrained by his intellectuality. Mr. Housman's polished diction owes much to his classical train-

ing. Hardy has fused thought with architectural unity even in his shorter lyrics. Dr. Bridges had a most thorough knowledge of English prosody and is the author of a poem which has been compared to Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*. Mr. Edmund Blunden is an authority on the nineteenth century literary history. Erudition is the most besetting sin of Mr. T. S. Eliot. The versatility of Mr. G. K. Chesterton, Mr. Hillaire Belloc and Mr. J. C. Squire and the deep critical insight of Mr. Edward Shanks, Mr. John Drinkwater, Sir Henry Newbolt, and Mr. Iolo A. Williams are proof enough of the learning and scholarship of the modern poets.

IV

The poetry of today has a deeper sense of the tragedy of everyday life. M. Maurice Maeterlink spoke of "a tragic element in the life of every day that is far more real, far more penetrating, far more akin to the true self that is in us than the tragedy that lies in great adventure." (*Treasures of the Humble*.) It is not the remote tragedy of "great adventure" that moves the modern poet. He is not interested in the fate of kings, princes and prelates, and he chooses to sing

"Of the maimed, of the halt and the blind in the
rain and the cold."

He, the modern poet, asks :

"... how shall we turn to little things
And listen to the birds and winds and streams
Made holy by their dreams,
Nor feel the heart-break in the heart of things?"

—W. W. Gibson : *Lament*.

Life is futile:

“ My good life

And what good has my goodness been to me?

You show me that! Somehow show me that!

A caterpillar munching a cabbage heart.

A crawling caterpillar eating his life

In a deaf-dark—that's my gain of goodness! ”

—Lascelles Abercrombie: *The End of the World.*

Even love that “ at the budding looks so sweet ” “ all goes crumble into dust ” :

“ Love is a flame to burn out human wills,

Love is a flame to set the will on fire,

Love is a flame to cheat men into mire.”

—Masfield: *The Widow of the Bye Street.*

Such bitterness, such disenchantment from life, such a poignant “ sense of tears in things human ” you will not find in the poetry of another age.

V

And yet the modern poet's philosophy is not a philosophy of despair. He does not in all moods sing the psalm of death. He sees life square and sees it whole. He is afraid neither of the real nor of the romantic. Only he refuses to look at life through the spectacles of romance and to accept *that* as the only true poetic vision. Under the stress of civilisation and social expansion at the cost of individual liberty, it is not possible to treat life as a gala day. “ Life is a long headache in a noisy street.” To effect an imaginative escape in a world of romance,

in an ivory tower of dreams is, the modern poet thinks, unworthy of him. He feels the thud of life and that mysterious urge to unfold its infinite beauty. He will not whip himself into a fine, ethereal emotion if that means a flight from life. Art for him is a pursuit of, not an escape from, life. He is not tied to it. He is intensely, passionately faithful to it. He is sincere, painfully sincere. In the world he finds golden sunshine, and specks of dust, infinite gloom, and stench, triviality and laughter and poor folk, and railway trains and flowers, loves, and men and beasts, decay—an infinity of things. In this world of a bewildering chaos of things he makes his quest of beauty.

"There are common and sordid things," Rupert Brooke wrote, "there are common and sordid things that may suddenly bring all tragedy, or at least the brutality of actual emotions to you. I rather grasp relievedly at them after I have beaten vain hands in the rosy mists of poet's experiences." That was the new apostle of beauty speaking, the great lover who has loved all things and would write their names "Golden for ever, eagles, crying flames . . ."

"These I have loved :

White plates and cups, clean gleaming
 Ringed with blue lines : and feathery, faery dust;
 Wet roofs, beneath the lamp light; the strong crust.
 Of friendly bread, and many tasting food;
 Rainbows; and the blue bitter-smoke of wood;"

and also

" . . . the cool kindliness of sheets, that soon
 Smooth away trouble; and the rough male kiss
 Of blankets . . ."

—*The Great Lover.*

Brooke's unconventionality and iconoclasm in the pursuit of beauty were combined with deep intensity of feeling and rare intellectual vigour.

James Elroy Flecker—that “exquisite creator of material loveliness” (as Eugene Mason called him)—once said: “It is not the poet's business to save man's soul, but to make it worth saving.” Beauty makes it worth saving. Flecker has recreated in his poetry the splendour of the East. What can excel the gorgeous imagery and the rich sense of colour of *Old Ships*, the haunting pathos of *Yasmin*, the warmth, the sensuousness, the fatalism of *The Golden Journey to Samarkand*, or the sheer barbaric passion of the *Queen's Song*?

“ Had I the power
 To Midas given of old
To touch a flower
 And leave the petals gold
I then might touch thy face,
 Delightful boy,
And leave a metal grace,
 A graven joy.

Thus would I slay—
 Ah, desperate device!
The vital day
 That trembles in thine eyes,
And let the red lips close
 Which sang so well,
And drive away the rose
 To leave a shell.”

If Brooke and Flecker were fascinated by the beauty of "the visible and fleeting universe," Mr. Masefield has moments of deeper insight without any of their deep and intense passion :

" For out of love and seeing
Beauty herself has being,
Beauty our queen;
Who with calm spirit guards us
And with dear love rewards us
In courts for ever green."

—*The Eye and the Object.*

Dr. Robert Bridges has attempted in his *Testament of Beauty* a most ambitious and philosophical interpretation of Beauty, Beauty in its spiritual and eternal aspect :

" *What is Beauty? saith my suffering then . . .*
Beauty is the highest of all these occult influences,
the quality of appearances that thru the sense
wakeneth spiritual emotion in the mind of man."

—*Book II, ll. 840—44.*

And

" Beauty, the eternal Spouse of the wisdom of God
and Angel of his Presence thru' all creation,
fashioning her new love-realm in the mind of man,
attempteth every mortal child with influences
of her divine supremacy."

—*Book IV, ll. 1—5.*

VI

With the advance of science and industry poetry does not necessarily decline. In spite of the growing mechanisation of the world, the modern poet has lost neither

his sensitiveness nor his impressionability. The heavy thud of 'bus traffic, the creaking of tramcars, the rattling noise of railway trains—they may not be good poetically, and yet they have left their impress on modern poetry. Kenneth Ashley's *Goods Train at Night* is superb for its fusion of realism and romance. John Davidson's *Song of the Train* is well known. And there is *The Ballad of a Motor 'Bus* beginning:

“ You get in at Ludgate Circus,
Where in regiments they stand,
All throbbing underneath the Bridge,
And pointing to the Strand—
All pageantry with colours,
All poetry with words,
Wait those blazened motor 'buses
In their fiercely panting herds.”

—Sheila Kaye-Smith

Or read Mr. Drinkwater's “ *Town Window* ”:

“ And when the tramway down the hill
Across the cobbles moans and sings,
There is about my window sill
The tumult of a thousand wings.”

Modern Industrialism has found its own laureate—Mr. Wilfrid Gibson. Originally he wrote on conventional subjects of romance till social consciousness deepened in him. Humanity became his new ideal, “humanity” as Miss Sturgeon says, “at bay and splendidly fighting.” He saw the pathos and poignancy of the

modern industrial life, of the struggling, striving, suffering poor. He saw

“ All life moving to one measure—
 Daily bread, daily bread—
 Bread of life and bread of labour
 Bread of bitterness and bread of sorrow,
 Hand-to-mouth and no to-morrow.
 Dearth for housemate, death for neighbour.”

—*From Holiday.*

Mr. Gibson has been called the Hogarth of contemporary life representing the deadening specialisation of the twentieth century. (A. C. Ward; *Twentieth Century Literature*.) But he sings of the brave heroic struggle and triumph of the man whom you could hear

“ . . . singing in the pit,
 As if his heart knew nought of it,
 And life was nothing but a song. . . . ”

—*Money.*

and of the pride of the poor folk,

“ . . . for the pride
 Of poor folk, who can understand? ”

—*Money.*

He has exalted the sorrow of the individual. For the poor his sorrow is as great and as full of tragedy as a king's is for him. Mr. Gibson spoke of an old worn-out hag who “ bartered blossoms for a bed ” :

“ The last oath muttered, the last pint drained deep,
 She will sink, as Cleopatra sank, to sleep.”

—*Geraniums.*

VII

The smoke and the murkiness, the dust and the hurry of the modern world have not destroyed man's joy in nature :

“ What is this life if, full of care,
We have no time to stand and stare ? ”

—W. H. Davies : *Leisure*.

A deep love of, and delight in nature are characteristic of modern poetry. It is not the spiritual or emotional life of nature that fascinates the modern poet but only the simple charm and poetry of her outward life,—of flowers, birds, wind, country-side. He does not “ interpret ” nature or her invisible spirit. He revels in the mere sight of her. He is sensitive and observant, though careless of scientific precision, and he writes of her with a rare freshness and vividness. Dr. Bridges has sung of the loveliness of English scenes and scenery, of

“ King-cup and Fleur-de-lys
Upon the marsh to meet
With comfrey, watermint,
Loose-strife and meadow-sweet.

Crowfoot's white galaxy
And love's forget-me-nots.”

—*Idle Flowers*.

Mr. W. H. Davies' nature poems have been compared to the cooing of a cuckoo. He sings. He does not reflect. He has no sense of the mystery of nature. The

naivete and freshness of his love of nature, the sheer simplicity and delighted wonder of it make him unique among the nature poets of England. He sings of birds and flowers, of wind and cloud, of April's charms and of May. He simply cannot restrain himself :

“ When I do hear these joyful birds,
I cannot sit with my heart dumb;
I cannot walk among the flowers,
But I must help the bees to hum.”

—*Now.*

He envies the joy of nature :

“ Oh, happy wind, how sweet
Thy life must be!
The great, proud fields of gold
Run after thee:
And here are flowers, with heads
To nod and shake;
And dreaming butterflies
To tease and wake.”

—*Happy Wind.*

He is nature's friend :

“ Say what you like,
All things love me!
Horse, cow, and mouse,
Bird, moth, and bee.”

—*Nature's Friend.*

With his "essential happiness of outlook" (William Bliss*) Mr. Edmund Blunden writes of the rural and pastoral life of England:

"Along the baulk the grasses drenched in dews
Soak through the morning gleaner's clumsy shoes,
And cloying cobwebs trammel their brown cheeks
While from the shouldering sun the dew fog reeks."

—*Gleaning.*

Mr. W. J. Turner writes of the charm of the exotic landscape:

"Shy antelopes and tufted trees
Move by eve's shining pools;
White faces streaming in dark streets
Our wind of sunset cools."

—*Man and Girl.*

Also there is the love of county or shire:

"No tender-hearted garden 'crowns,
No bosomed woods adorn
Our blunt, bow-headed, whale-backed Downs,
But gnarled and writhen thorn—
Bare slopes where chasing shadows skim.
And through the gaps revealed,
Belt upon belt, the wooded, dim
Blue goodness of the weald

* London Mercury, January, 1931.

God gives all men earth to love,
 But since man's heart is small,
 Ordains for each one spot will prove
 Beloved over all.

Each to his choice, and I rejoice
 The lot has fallen to me
 In a fair ground—in a fair ground—
 Yea, Sussex by the sea."

—Rudyard Kipling: *Sussex*.

and love of country-folk:

"I will gather and carefully make my friends
 Of the men of the Sussex weald,
 They watch the stars from silent folds,
 They stiffly plough the field,
 By them and the God of the South Country
 My poor soul shall be healed."

—Hillaire Belloc; *The South Country*.

and a thousand other charms of nature in the poetry of Mr. Edward Shanks who is a master of description and of Mr. Edward Thomas are not the least of the beauties of modern poetry.

The romance and the reality of sea-life have found full expression in the poetry of Mr. Masfield. His *Dauber* contains one of the finest descriptions of a sea-storm. And while he in his *Cargoes* and Flecker in his *Old Ships* have written two of the finest poems on ships, Mr. Masfield has known the call of the sea,

"... for the call of the running tide
 Is a wild call and a clear call that may not be
 denied."

In *The Sea Fever* he says:

“ I must down to the seas again, to the lonely sea
and the sky,
And all I ask is a tall ship and a star to steer
her by,
And the wheel’s kick and the wind’s song and
the white sail’s shaking,
And a grey mist on the sea’s face and a grey
dawn breaking . . . ”

VIII

In modern poetry a new feeling for animal life has developed. It is not the joy of animal life but its mute suffering that moves the modern poet. He does not write against vivisection or in favour of vegetarianism. All sorts of insects—glow-worms (Edward Shanks), moths (Dorothy Wellesley), wasps (Thomas Thorneley);—and creatures like the fish (Rupert Brooke), and snake and kangaroo (D. H. Lawrence), and bat (Lawrence and W. W. Gibson) and parrot (Gibson) and owls (Walter de la Mare);—and domestic animals like dogs (J. C. Squire), and horses (Dorothy Wellesley)—they all have been treated of in modern poetry. Mr. Walter de la Mare has written with delicate pathos and compassion on a donkey called Nicholas Nye:

“ He munched his thistle, purple and spiked,
Would sometimes stoop and sigh,
And turn to his head, as if he said,
‘ Poor Nicholas Nye ! ’

And there in the moonlight, dark with dew,
Asking not wherefore nor why,
Would brood like a ghost, and as still as a post,
Old Nicholas Nye."

—*Nicholas Nye.*

But deep pity for animal life has found its best expression in the poetry of Mr. Ralph Hodgson. In *The Bull* he depicts the tragedy of the decay of the animal's youth to the impotence of old age when he

"From his visionary herds
And his splendid yesterday,
Turns to meet the loathly birds
Flocking round him upon the skies,
Waiting for the flesh that dies."

IX

Though man's sympathy for man and animal has deepened, God has come in for a good deal of abuse. Hardy took him to task, "used ethic tests he never knew." Mr. Gibson said:

"... better far our hearts should break
Than fawn on gods..."

—*By the Fire.*

Mr. Housman dismissed him summarily:

"Whatever brute or blackguard made the world."
—Yet religious emotion has inspired some of the modern poets. Though Mr. Masfield's *Everlasting Mercy* occasionally lapses into bathos, it does not read like "a Sal-

vation Army tract " to which it has been unjustly compared :

" O Christ who holds the open gate,
O Christ who drives the furrow straight.
O Christ, the plough; O Christ, the laughter
Of holy white birds flying after,
Lo, all my heart's field red and torn,
And Thou wilt bring the young green corn,
The young green corn divinely springing;
And when the field is fresh and fair
Thy blessed feet shall glitter there.
And we will walk the weeded field,
And tell the golden harvests yield
The corn that makes the holy bread
By which the soul of man is fed,
The holy bread, the food unpriced,
Thy everlasting mercy, Christ."

—*The Everlasting Mercy.*

Catholic feeling has found expression in the works of Mr. Hillaire Belloc (*The Grades*) and Mr. Chesterton and Miss Viola Meynell, but in Francis Thompson's *The Hound of Heaven* the catholic conception of mercy was exalted into a rich mystical experience. Mr. Ralph Hodgson in his *The Song of Honour* sang the hymn of the mere joy of the creation of God, "the hosanna of all created beings."—(*S. P. B. Mais*)

" I heard the universal choir
The Sons of Light exalt their Sire
With universal song,

Earth's lowliest and loudest notes,
Her million times ten million throats
Exalt him loud and long,
And lips and lungs and tongues of Grace
From every part and every place
Within the shining of His face
The universal throng."

But the mysticism of Mr. Ralph Hodgson is not entirely religious. In his artistic thrift and transparent sincerity, and in the sheer bare power of simple words he is alone today. In a poem, *Time, You old Gypsyman* he has symbolised Time in its perpetual flow of change:

"Last week in Babylon,
Last night in Rome,
Morning, and in the crush
Under Paul's dome;
Under Paul's dial
You tighten your rein—
Only a moment,
And off once again;
Off to some city
Now blind in the womb,
Off to another
Ere that's in the tomb."

Mr. de la Mare, "the poet of lost paradises" (as Mr. Shanks calls him) has the simplicity of Mr. Ralph Hodgson's and the wizardry of Mr. Yeats' verse. His fantasy has sometimes the vagrancy of metaphysical conceit and sometimes almost the reach of the highest alle-

gorical imagination. His mysticism always reminds me of M. Maurice Mæterlink's *The Blue Bird*. It is not that the poet ever identifies himself with a unifying principle of the diverse phenomena—such mysticism you do not find in English poetry—but only that he suggests the invisible by the visible, the abstract by the concrete. He has the child's wonder and man's discontent. His humour has been called "Puck-like" (Coulson Kernahan) and his pathos is now full of despair and now of tenderness:

" . . . human beauty is a sight
To sadden, rather than delight,
Being the prelude of a lay
Whose burden is decay."

and

" Very old are we men;
Our dreams are tales
Told in dim Eden
By Eve's nightingales. . ."

—*All That's Past*.

I shall not quote *The Listeners*, nor *The Scribe*, nor *The Ghost*, nor *The Song of the Mad Prince*, nor a score of other poems that deserve quotation but only this:

" Poor little Lucy
By some mischance,
Lost her shoe
As she did dance:
'Twas not on the stairs,
Not in the hall;
Not where they sat
At supper at all.

has sought to revitalise Celtic mythology and folk-lore. He says in *Vale* published last year (1931):

“ This was the heavenly hiding place
 . Wherein the Spirit laughed a day.
All its proud ivories and fires
 Shrunk to a shovelful of clay.

It must have love, this silent earth,
 To leap up at the King's desire.
Moving in such a noble dance
 Of wreathed ivory and fire.

It will not stir for me at all,
 Nor answer me with voice or gleam.
Adieu, sweet-memored dust, I go
 After the Master for His dream.”

—*Vale*.

X

Laughter is the antithesis of romance. And yet laughter is the crucial test of the sincerity of that deep sense of tragedy of which I spoke in an earlier section of this paper. The humorous poetry—or call it verse, if you are afraid that a wrong use of words will create an evil in your soul—the humorous verse of today covers a very wide range and is as rich as prolific. There are the epigrams of Sir William Watson and Mr. Hillaire Belloc, the satire of Mr. J. C. Squire and Lord Alfred Douglas, the parodies of Sir Owen Seamen and the touching humour of his *A Plea for Trigamy* and *Time's Revenges*, the elfish fun of Mr. de la Mare (*Miss T.*) and the

thoughtful fun of Mr. Ralph Hodgson (*Stupidity Street*), the rich humour of Mr. Masefield combining a Chaucerian ease of narrative with a metaphysical twist in the profusion of his similes—as in the “thumbnail” pictures in his *Reynard the Fox*. I shall give only one instance:

“ A pommle cop came trotting, up,
Round-bellied like a drinking-cup,
Bearing on back a pommle man,
Round-bellied like a drinking-can,
The clergyman from Condicote.
His face was scarlet from his trot,
His white hair bobbed about his head
As halos do round clergy dead.
He asked Tom Copp, ‘ How long to wait? ’
His loose mouth opened like a gate
To pass the waggon of his speech.
He had a mighty voice to preach.
Though indolent in other matters.
He let his children go in tatters.”

And the humour of sheer metaphysical conceit as in Mr. W. H. Davies’ *A Maiden and Her Hair*:

“ Her cruel hands go in and out,
Like two pale woodmen working there,
To make a nut-brown thicket clear—
The full, wild foliage of her hair.”

Also there is a tone of levity, of pointless flippancy, as if, life were a huge joke, a trifle that need not be taken seriously. This is sheer levity:

“ And Ditton girls are mean and dirty,
And there's none in Harston under thirty.”

—Rupert Brooke; *The Old Vicarage*.

You find even deliberate morbidity:

“ A million million spermatozoa
All of them alive,
Out of their cataclysm but one poor Noah
Dare hope to survive.”

—Aldous Huxley.

Vulgarity and obscenity—they are part of life. Why taboo them? The modern poet may be wrong. But his levity is only apparent. The under-current of pathos is unmistakable. It is only the bubble grief that is afraid of the prick of laughter.

XI

Mr. A. C. Ward describes the nineteen-twenties as a “decade of despair.” (*The Nineteen-Twenties*.) The Great War is the most terrible episode of recent years, and the decade that followed it was spiritually more terrible than those five years of actual fight—the years, when national emotion was at its white-heat. When the War was over, the inevitable reaction came. It created a spiritual rift—an inner chasm—in the man who fought the war and survived it. He returned home victorious, but spiritually he was an exile from it. After that terrible

experience, the war, which a soldier described as terror punctuated by boredom—after all its brutality, squalor and filth, a return to normal life was impossible.

The War did not inspire any great poem. When the poet turned soldier, it lost all its romance. Much of the War poetry is grim, but it is all brave. The poet does not glorify war, he glorifies man who endured it. The poet spoke, as Jacquelline Trotter says, (Foreword to *Valour and Vision*), "with a directness of sincerity and a passion that leave no room for comment." The valour, the vision, the heroism, the suffering of the war, its hope and despair and suspense, its terror and horrid reality—they all found expression in the poetry of the War poets—a term that was a few years ago "almost as familiar as a ration-card." (Edmund Blunden.) Edmund Blunden, Robert Nichols, C. H. Sorley, Robert Graves, Siegfried Sassoon, Wilfrid Owen—to treat of these the most distinguished of the War poets and not to mention their elders—Masefield, and Gibson, and Hardy, and Housman, and a host of others—would need a paper by itself. But one great contribution of the Great War to modern poetry cannot be ignored, I mean, the poetry of comradeship. The War brought a spirit of *Comaraderie*, a new sense of fellow-feeling that almost grew into a passion, a sort of mute concord, a spiritual communion between soldier and soldier:

"Was there love once? I have forgotten her.

Was there grief once? Grief is yet mine.

O loved, living, dying, heroic soldier,

All, all, my joy, my grief, my love are thine!"

—Robert Nichols: *Ardours & Endurances*.

and between soldier and enemy :

“

I am the enemy you killed, my friend,
I knew you in this dark; for so you frowned
Yesterday through me as you jabbed and killed.
I parried; but my hands were loath and cold.
Let us sleep now. . .”

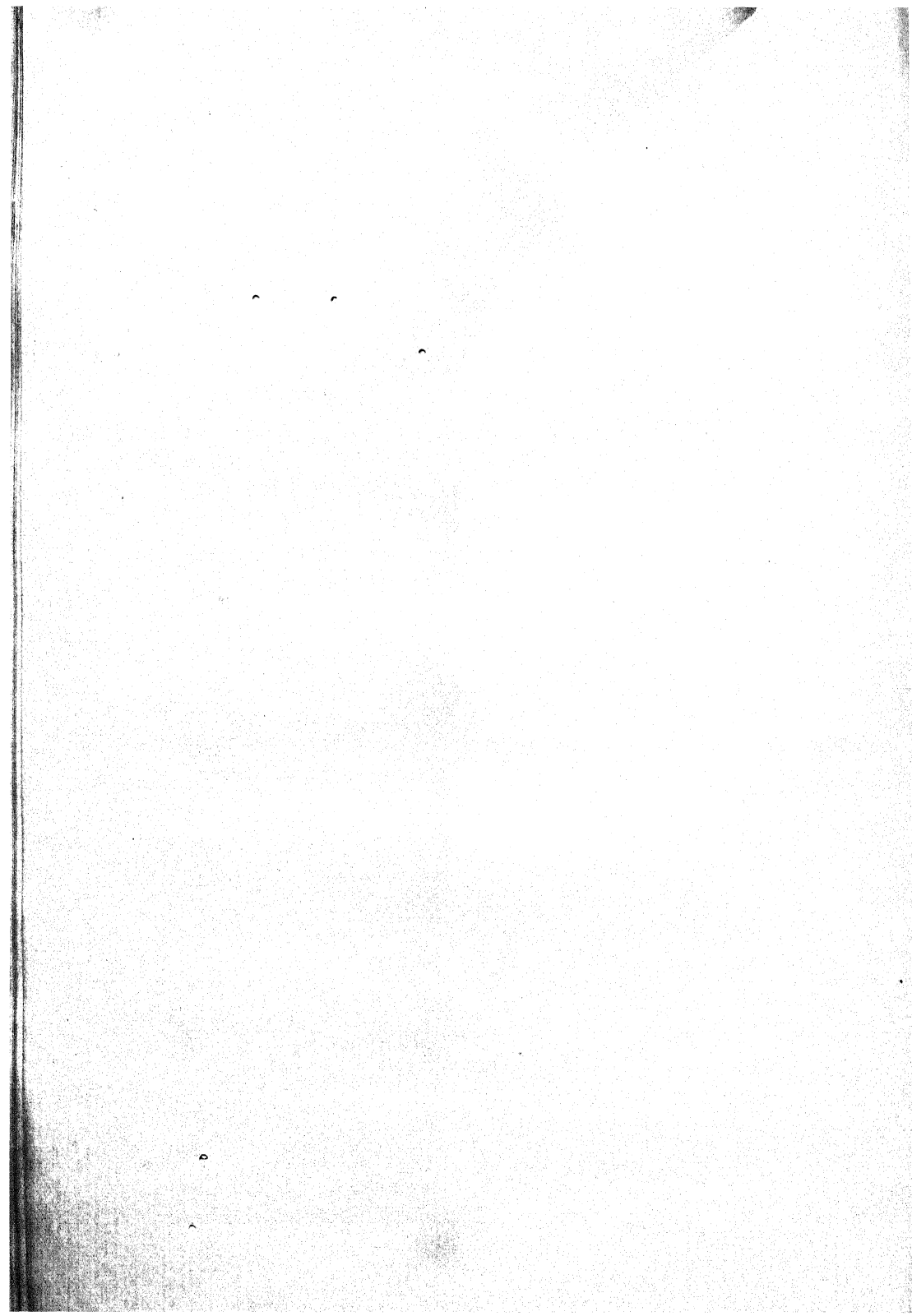
—Wilfrid Owen: *A Strange Meeting*.

XII

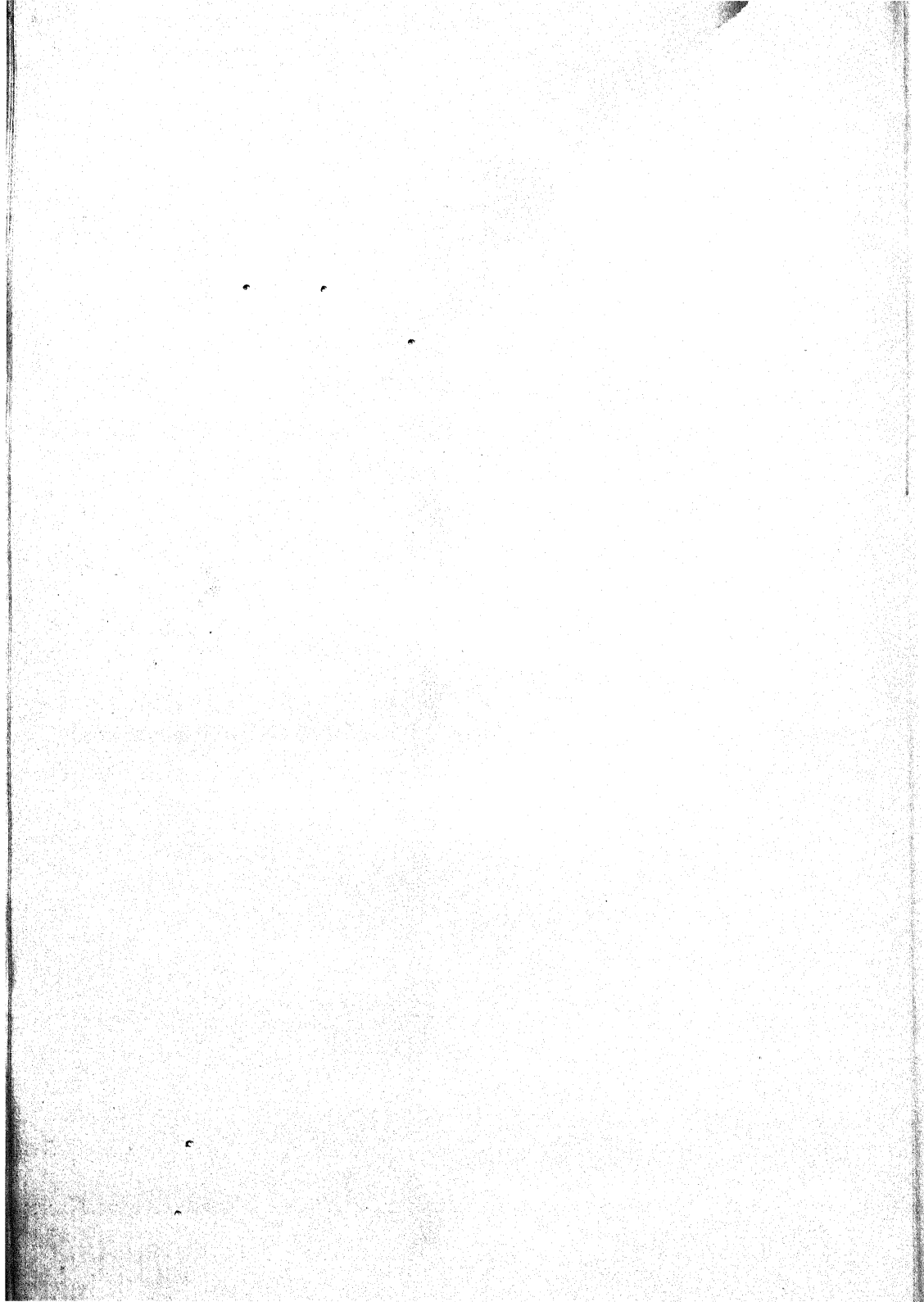
I have already referred to the casual influence of the metaphysical and the mystic poets of the past. Mr. Herbert Read (in *The Phases of English Poetry*) has traced the modernist's sincerity of treatment to Wordsworth's theory of poetic diction “as modified and corrected by Coleridge” and the flexibility and elasticity of his diction and metre to the poetry of Browning. Here it is not possible to enter into a *propos* criticism of the spirited defence of modernist poetry by Miss Laura Riding and Mr. Robert Graves (in *A Survey of Modernist Poetry*) and the experiments of the Sitwells to interfuse the senses “to increase consciousness.” Nor indeed can we discuss here the technique of Mr. T. S. Eliot that “objectively reveals an aspect of truth” with “an essential element of surprise in it” and the condensation, on phonetic principles, of thought and emotion into a typographical design in Mr. E. E. Cummings's *is 5* : . Much of the current prejudice against modern poetry would be removed if the fundamental principle of all modern poetic theory and experiment were grasped. This fundamental and essential canon of modern art is *sincerity*. The poet's

aim is not conviction—that is rhetoric, nor is it conveyance—that is tradition—of an experience. Rhetoric and tradition compromise his sincerity: to convince you of his experience, he must adopt *your* mode of thought: to convey it to you, he must adopt *your* mode of expression. This he will not do for all your love. Like God, he is alone; and creating, like God, without a conscious purpose and only in response to an inner urge, a universe of his own. He identifies beauty, not with truth, but with sincerity. He suits the rhythm of his verse to his mood, and his metre to the ebb and flow of his emotion. His imagery is emotional, not scientific. For anatomical exactness he does not care because he means to be tremendously suggestive. And if he is lacking in the relevancy of details it is because he does not *see*. He only intuits and comprehends.

These are the new values of modern art and its new ways. One may also add, a new vitality; for modern poetry has the rhythm of life—its throb of joy, its hush of pain, its infinity of experience. The modern poet does not take you on a perpetual joy-flight into the regions of romance. That gets on one's nerves. But you are welcome to walk with him on the more human roads, stony and dismal like asphalt and tediously endless like life!



SECTION II
POLITICS



VILLAGE PANCHAYATS IN BRITISH INDIA*

BY

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Lord Morley's Reform Despatch.

On the 27th November, 1908, Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State for India, sent a Reform Despatch to the Government of India in which he referred to the "Village in India" as the fundamental and indestructible unit of social system which has survived the downfall of dynasty after dynasty. He recommended to the Governor General of India in Council to find out the best way of carrying out a policy that would make the village the starting point of public life in India.¹

Royal Commission upon Decentralisation.

The report of the Royal Commission upon Decentralisation, which was appointed on September 12, 1907, "to enquire into the relations now existing for financial

* The writer has worked as a Research Scholar in the department of Political Science in the University for the last two years. He has prepared a dissertation on "Village Panchayat System in British India." This is a part of the same. This part is preceded by an historical account of village panchayats in India up to the end of the nineteenth century.

¹ See para 33 of the despatch: "Your Excellency will recall that the Resolution from which I have quoted treats the Subdivision Taluka or the Tahsil as the smallest administrative unit. It is a question whether it would not be wise policy to go further. The village in India (generally) has been the fundamental and indestructible unit of the social system, surviving the downfall of dynasty after dynasty. I desire your Excellency in Council to consider the best way of carrying out a policy that would make the village a starting point of public life."

and administrative purposes between the supreme government and the various provincial governments and the authorities subordinate to them, and to report whether, by measures of decentralisation or otherwise, those relations could be simplified and improved, and the system of government better adapted both to meet the requirements and to promote the welfare of the different provinces, and, without impairing its strength and unity, to bring the executive power into closer touch with local conditions," was published in 1909. The Commission assembled in India on the 18th November, 1907, and took evidence in the various provinces. Between November 1907 and April 1908 the Commission held public sittings at one or more places in all the major provinces, as also in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. Public sittings occupied in all seventy-one days and involved journey aggregating twelve thousand and three hundred miles and the examination of three hundred and seven witnesses of whom one hundred and nineteen were non-officials. Part III of the Report deals with village organization and Local Self-Government of which Chapter XVIII deals exclusively with village organization.

The Report says¹ that in ignoring a village, the primary unit, at the time of giving powers of Local Government through Municipalities and Local Boards, the Government made a beginning with a false step. "The scanty success of the efforts, hitherto made, to introduce a system of rural Self-Government is largely due to the fact that we have not built up from the bottom," and hence it is most desirable to constitute and develop village panchayats for the administration of certain local affairs within the village. This system must, however, be

¹ See paras from 699 to 722 of Chapter XVIII, Part III.

gradually and cautiously worked. The hearman of the village, where there is one, should be ex-officio Chairman of the Panchayat. The appointment of other members, and of the Chairman where there was no recognised headman should be made by informal election within the villages. The ordinary unit of Panchayat administration should be the individual village, and only in exceptional circumstances, should different villages be brought under the same Panchayat. The Village Panchayat should be a small body, the precise number must depend upon local circumstances, but five would be a good average. A man once appointed a member of Panchayat should, so long as he remains of good behaviour, hold office for a substantial term of years, and be eligible for re-election. The Sub-Divisional Officer should have the power of removing any member of a Panchayat whom he considers to have shown himself grossly unfit for his post. Vacancies in the Panchayat should be filled up in the same way as the original appointments.

The functions of the Panchayat must be largely determined by local circumstances and experience, and be gradually and cautiously assigned. The Commission made the following general suggestions as regards Village Panchayat :

- (1) They should have civil and criminal jurisdiction in petty cases arising within the village.³
- (2) They should be entrusted with village sanitation, and with expenditure on certain minor works, e.g., wells, drinking water tanks, rest houses, etc.

³ The Commission was told in the Punjab that the Native States of Patiala and Faridkot had recently instituted Zail or

- (3) They should be entrusted with the construction and maintenance of school-houses, and some local control in respect of school management.⁴
- *(4) Selected Panchayats should be given the management of small fuel and fodder reserves.

The Commission considered it essential to the popularity and efficiency of the Panchayat System that it should not be associated with any new form of local taxation.

The Commission recommended the following sources from which a Panchayat's revenue should be derived:

- (1) The assignment to it of a portion of the land cess levied for local board purposes in the village.
- (2) Special grants, for particular objects of local improvement, to be made by Sub-District Boards or Collectors.
- (3) The receipt from village cattle pounds or markets which may be entrusted to its management.
- (4) Small fees on Civil Suits filed before it.

The Commission was of opinion that the Panchayat's application of funds entrusted to them should be judged by general results, and should not be subject to rigid audit, and thought it most desirable that the work of Panchayats should be free from interference by the lower

Village Panchayats for the disposal of petty Civil and Criminal Cases and the results so far had been good. A zail was a group of some fifteen villages.

⁴This system was already adopted, in part, in Burma and Assam.

government subordinates. The Commission referring to the lower government subordinate, says, "Men of this class have their own reasons for opposing any real local control."

With the Panchayat System thus developed, the Commission did not consider it necessary to retain artificial local agencies such as village unions and sanitary committees. Finally the Commission held that such outside supervision of Panchayat affairs as was necessary including the creation of new Panchayats, enhancement or diminution of powers, and where necessary abolition of an unsatisfactory Panchayat must rest with the district officers. Panchayats should not be placed under the control of district or subordinate boards.

It is clear from the above summary of the recommendation of the Royal Commission upon Decentralisation that in order to insure the rapid and permanent growth of Local Self-Government in India, it was necessary to build from the bottom and that strenuous efforts were to be made to revive and resuscitate the old Village Panchayats and twin them into useful units of local administration on modern lines.

The proposal of the Commission was favourably commended by the Government of India, who expressed their readiness to acquiesce in some form of permissive taxation. The officials found practical difficulties to be very great in many parts of India. The Government of Burma and the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces greatly deprecated the introduction of a system, which, in their judgment, was alien to the customs of the people, and would not command public confidence. The other governments were ready to experiment, but on different lines. The Punjab Government established Panchayats for civil cases only and that too of a voluntary character. Sir Leslie Porter, when officiating as Lieutenant-Governor

nor of the United Provinces, expressed his willingness to entrust selected Panchayats with criminal as well as civil jurisdiction. The Madras Government expressed their desire to experiment, in the establishment of Panchayats but held that that action should be confined for the time being to the encouragement of voluntary self-contained organizations independent of statutory sanction and consisting of village elders conferring together for common village purposes. So far as judicial functions were concerned they were content to rely on the provisions of the Madras Village Panchayats Regulation, 1816, and the Madras Village Courts Act, 1888, which authorised the assembling of Panchayats and convening of Village Bench Courts for the settlement of particular civil suits on the application of the parties and encourage the operation of these enactments wherever practicable. The Governments of Bengal and of Bihar and Orissa were of opinion that their existing laws sufficiently provided for the establishment of Panchayats with administrative duties while powers to dispose of criminal cases could be given under the existing Acts dealing with these matters. The Chief Commissioner of Assam expressed his readiness to develop village Government.

But 'men of spot,' as a rule, opposed this idea. They did not like to entrust people with acts of power and responsibility which ultimately might weaken the hold of bureaucracy on them, and contented that there was no demand for regularly constituted Panchayats of the kind contemplated by the Decentralisation Commission. They further added that if established such Panchayats would not command the confidence of the people. As to the question whether there was any demand or not for regularly constituted Panchayats it is enough to recall that at the second United Provinces Conference held at Lucknow

on the 2nd March, 1908, a resolution was passed to the effect that Village Panchayats should be revived and 'given some powers in the disposal of local affairs relating to revenue, police, sanitary, educational, and other matters such as the disposal of petty criminal and civil cases.' However, nothing substantial was done for five or six years, and apparently very little interest was taken in Panchayats. We may read volumes of 'Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India' dealing with the years from 1909 to 1914 and will find very little reference to Panchayats. But there is no doubt that Panchayats were not unknown in India during these years. We may recall that in Madras, the Act of 1884 laid down that there should be a district board for each district, a taluk board for each taluk constituted under the Act, and Panchayat for each 'Union,' a Union consisting of any village or villages or any portion or portions thereof constituted as such by the Local Government. The Union Panchayats included the headmen of villages included in the Union and nominated members. We learn from the 'Moral and Material Progress of India' dealing with the year 1911-12 that the provisions of the Act authorising election by the inhabitants of the Union had not up to 1912 been put into force, but measures for the partial introduction of the elective method of appointment had recently been sanctioned. A large majority of members were non-official. The Panchayats existed throughout the decade in all except two or three districts. We also learn from the same source that the Union Panchayats received the proceeds of a house tax at an average rate of rather less than one rupee per house taxed which produced some £45,000 a year.⁵ The working " was report-

⁵ See "Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India," (1911-12), p. 123.

ed to be satisfactory on the whole during the period." The Union Panchayat was subordinate to the Local Board. In 1912-13 there were three hundred and ninety-three of them with three thousand seven hundred and twenty-two members.⁶ The Village Panchayats had not less than five members each, and dealt chiefly with sanitation and the making and repairing of roads, and in some cases they had the management of choultries, markets, and other local institutions entrusted to them by the taluk boards.⁷ In 1913-14 there were three hundred and ninety-four Panchayats with three thousand seven hundred and forty-eight members.⁸

In Assam the Local Self-Government Bill was passed by the Legislative Council of that province permitting the constitution of village authorities, the grants of funds by Local Boards and from other sources, and the delegation of minor powers of local control.

But outside Madras and Assam very little interest was taken in Village Panchayats. In Bengal the system of village unions had not been so extensively developed. However, in 1911-12 they existed in twelve districts among those included in Bengal, and in four districts in Bihar and Orissa.⁹ In the year 1912-13 there were some Union Committees in Bengal.¹⁰ The same was the case in 1913-14. The Report of the Bengal District Administration Committee (1913-14) raised the question of Panchayats again.

⁶ Ibid., p. 112, 1912-13.

⁷ Ibid., p. 114.

⁸ Ibid., p. 107, 1913-14.

⁹ Ibid., p. 120, 1911-12.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 112, 1912-13.

In the Central Provinces, the villages were aggregated into 'Circles,' and this system resembled the Madras system of 'Unions' but there were no bodies corresponding to the Union Panchayats.

The Government Resolution, 1915.

The year 1915 saw another great effort being made to revive and resuscitate Village Panchayats. In April 1915 the Government of India defined its policy and issued definite instructions to give a full trial to a practical scheme of Village Panchayats.

The Government of India desired that where any practical scheme could be worked out in cooperation with the people concerned, full experiment should be made on lines approved by the Local Government or Administration concerned. "Throughout the greater part of India the word 'Panchayat' is familiar. The lower castes commonly have voluntarily constituted Panchayats, to whom they allow quasi-judicial authority in social matters. The more artificial administrative committees such as Chaukidari Panchayats, local fund unions, and village sanitation and education committees, and, in places even Village Panchayats already exist. The spread of co-operative society, and the distribution of government advances in times of famine and scarcity on joint security are educative influences. Village tribunals for the disposal of petty civil suits have got beyond the experimental stage in some places and are in experimental stage in others. There is, therefore, some material with which to build. The Government of India agree, however, with the view prominently brought forward by the Bengal District Administrative Committee that much will depend on the local knowledge and personality of the officers who may be selected to introduce any scheme." With

this general commendation the Government of India were content to leave the matter in the hands of Local Government and Administrations. However, the Government of India laid down the following principles to indicate the lines on which advance was most likely to be successful :

- (1) The experiments should be made in selected villages or areas larger than a village where the people in general agree.
- (2) Legislation where necessary should be permissive and general. The powers and duties of Panchayats whether administrative or judicial, need not and should not be identical in every village.
- (3) In areas where it was considered desirable to confer judicial as well as administrative functions upon Panchayats the same body should exercise both functions.
- (4) Existing village administrative committees such as village sanitation, and education committee should be merged in the Village Panchayats where these were established.
- (5) The jurisdiction of Panchayats in judicial cases should ordinarily be permissive but in order to provide inducement to litigants reasonable facilities might be allowed to persons wishing to have their cases decided by Panchayats. For instance, Court fees, if levied, should be small, technicalities in procedure should be avoided and possibly a speedier execution of decrees permitted.
- (6) Powers of permissive taxation may be conferred on Panchayats where desired, subject to the

control of Local Government or administration, but the development of the Panchayat System should not be prejudiced by an excessive association with taxation.

- (7) The relations of Panchayats on the administrative side with other administrative bodies should be clearly defined. If they were financed by district or sub-district board there could be no objection to some supervision by boards.¹¹

But the Local Governments did not move in the matter, and preferred to stay where they were. Public opinion was pressing hard the Local Governments. The non-official members of the Central Provinces Legislative Council grew impatient, and moved a resolution urging the appointment of a committee to draw up a scheme.

Montague's Speech.

While the public opinion was pressing the Local Governments, certain events of far-reaching importance took place which obliged the governments to slacken, if not altogether give up its opposition. Owing to the pressure of war the policy of British Government in respect of the future of India was announced in the House of Commons, on August 20, 1917, by the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Montague, the then Secretary of State for India in the following terms :

“ The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing of association of Indians in every branch of

¹¹ For all these seven principles see para 39 of the Resolution on Local Self-Government.

the association and the gradual development of Self-Governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible. . .”

Lord Chelmsford's Speech.

On 5th September, 1917, Lord Chelmsford gave a speech in the Indian Legislative Council in course of which His Excellency said, “ With regard to the second question,¹² after a careful and detailed examination of the ground, we arrived at the decision that there were three roads along which advance should be made towards the goal. The first road was in the domain of Local Self-Government, the village, the rural board, and the town or municipal council. The domain of urban and rural Self-Government is the great training ground from which political progress and a sense of responsibility have taken their start, and we felt that the time had come to quicken the advance, to accelerate the rate of progress and thus to stimulate the sense of responsibility in the average citizen, and to enlarge his experience.”

Montague and Chelmsford Report.

The Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Montague and H. E. Lord Chelmsford prepared a Report dated Simla, April 22, 1918, containing proposals for Indian Constitutional

¹² The two questions were :

- (1) What is the goal of British rule in India?
- (2) What are the steps on the road to that goal?

The answer of the first was: the endowment of British India as an integral part of the British Empire with Self-Government was the goal of British Rule.

Reforms. Paragraph 196 of the report reads thus : " Finally, the Government of India propose to direct attention to the development of the Panchayat System in villages. This question was examined by the Decentralisation Commission and has since been the subject of further inquiry in the United Provinces and Assam. It is recognised that the prospect of successfully developing Panchayats must depend very largely on local conditions, and that the functions and powers to be allotted to them must vary accordingly; but when the system proves a success it is contemplated that they might be endowed with civil and criminal jurisdiction in petty cases, some administrative powers as regards sanitation and education, and permissive powers of imposing a local rate. It is hoped that wherever possible, an effective beginning will be made."

Resolution of the Government of India, 1918.

On the 16th May, 1918, the Government of India issued a resolution on Local Self-Government containing some provisions for Village Panchayat. First of all the Government of India in some respects modified the principles of the 1915 Resolution. They modified the first of the principles suggested in that resolution by saying that the area under a Panchayat should normally be a village unless villages were so closely connected that they may be treated as one. The Government of India also omitted the seventh of the principles on the ground that at the present stage it was not desirable to make any rigid classification of the connection of Panchayats with other administrative bodies from which indeed they should be kept apart as much as possible while the way in which they did their work should be tested by inspec-

tions by the administrative district staff. At the beginning, moreover, such control as is necessary in the way of replacing incompetent Panchayats or members of Panchayats should be exercised by the local revenue officers provided these were of a grade higher than that of a Tahsildar.

As regards the constitution of Panchayats the resolution declared that the association of the principal village officers with the Panchayats was important and other members were to be elected at an informal election by the villagers themselves.

The resolution allowed the Panchayats to choose its own president and did not render it obligatory that the president should be the headman as suggested by the Decentralisation Commission. Of the possible functions to be assigned to Panchayats the most important were, village sanitation, village education (in the direction indicated in paragraph 712 of the Decentralization Commission Report), and jurisdiction in petty civil and criminal cases. With reference to the last class of functions the resolution specially desired that the Panchayat should be, as a rule, a body representing a single village, otherwise the great safeguard for the proper disposal of such cases, namely, local public opinion, will be lost. The resolution thought that it should be permissible, though not universally necessary as the Commission suggested that the Panchayat should receive some portion of the land cess raised in their villages. The Government of India were also prepared, again differing from the recommendation of the Decentralisation Commission, to allow to the Panchayats voluntary powers of supplementary taxation, the proceeds of which were to be devoted to the special purpose or purposes for which the tax was levied.

The Government of India further held that where it was decided to call these Panchayats into existence, the legislation entailed should be as simple and elastic as possible with the fullest scope for details. These might be left to rules which would be gradually evolved and be improved by experience. The Government of India, however, recognised the impossibility of any universal enforcement of a system of Panchayats by reason of the different circumstances, prevailing in different tracts, in some of which indeed there were no regular villages at all. "It is essential, however, that an effective beginning should be made, when possible; and if, the Governments of any province, where there is still some real village life, should think that these recommendations are unsuited to local circumstances, it will be open to such a Government to put forward alternative proposals. It is not, for instance, intended to prevent in any way the establishment of unions or circles for Local Self-Government purposes. Such bodies would be specially useful and desirable in tracts in which it is found impossible or premature to establish a Village Panchayat System." "The development of a Village Panchayat System, where this is undertaken, should in any case be secured by separate legislation unconnected with the Acts relating to municipal and rural boards."

After the introduction of the Reforms of 1919, the Department of Local Self-Government was transferred to the ministers responsible to the legislature. Thenceforth every local government tried to revive Village Panchayats. In the Madras Presidency, legislation for the establishment of Village Panchayats with judicial and administrative powers was taken up. In the United Provinces, a Bill for the constitution of Panchayats, was framed according to the recommendations of the Committee which

was formed in 1918 consisting of two officers. In the Central Provinces too a similar Bill was framed in response to a resolution passed by the Provincial Legislature in November, 1917. A special officer was appointed to investigate the subject.

The first legislation on the subject after the Resolution of 1918 was the Bengal Village Self-Government Act in 1919. The Bill following the report of Mr. Jatar was introduced into the Central Provinces Legislative Council in 1919, which aimed at subjecting the Panchas to official control, and hence received a united opposition from the non-official members. In the year 1920, Village Panchayat Acts were passed by the Bombay, Madras, United Provinces and Central Provinces Legislative Councils. Next year the Punjab Legislative Council followed suit. Last of all the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council passed the Bihar and Orissa Village Administration Act in 1922.

Some of these Provincial Acts were also amended from time to time.

The Establishment and Constitution of Panchayats.

These Provincial Panchayat Acts provide for the establishment and constitution of panchayats for their provinces. Rules are laid down for the establishment of panchayats, strength and formation of the same, qualifications of voters and members where regular elections are held, disqualifications of members, term of office of members, president and vice-president, if any, reasons for which they may be removed, or panchayat may be suspended, and similar other provisions. These rules are not uniform throughout India, and rather differ from province to province.

In the provinces of Madras and the Punjab no act of the panchayat is deemed to be invalid by reason only of the fact that the number of the panchas holding office at the time of performance of any such act was less than the number fixed or by reason of any irregularity in the appointment of any panch or sarpanch.

In Madras, Punjab, and Bengal, a panchayat is a body corporated by such name as the local government may determine and has perpetual succession and a common seal. It sues and is sued by the said name. The panchayat is also competent to acquire, hold, or transfer property, movable or immovable, to enter into contracts, and to do all other things necessary for the purposes of the acts.

BENGAL

In Bengal there are Unions and not Village Panchayats.

(When the Act has come into force in any district or part of the district, the Local Government is empowered, after consideration of the views of the District Board, and the Local Boards, by notification, divide that district or part into as many local areas as may to them seem expedient, and may, by notification, declare every such local area to be a union.

The Local Government establishes a Union Board for every union and fixes the number of members of each Union Board between six and nine.

The members are elected in prescribed time and manner. But the Local Government is empowered to direct, by an order in writing, for reasons to be stated in such order, that not more than one-third of the total number of members of the Union Board shall be appointed

by the District Magistrate. But no member is so appointed unless he is entitled to be elected a member of the Union Board.

If on the date fixed for the election, the electors of any Union fail to elect any member or members the vacancy or vacancies are filled by another election or by appointment by the District Magistrate; and any person so appointed is deemed to be a duly elected member.

Qualifications of Voters and Members of Union Boards.

Every male person of the full age of twenty-one years and having a place of residence within the Union,

- (i) who, during the year immediately preceding the election, has paid a sum of not less than one rupee as cess under the Cess Act, 1890, in respect of lands situated wholly or in part in such Union, or
- (ii) who, during the year immediately preceding such election, has been assessed at and paid a sum of not less than one rupee, for the purposes of the Union rate payable under the Act or in case of a first election under the Act, as Chaukidari-tax, or
- (iii) who is a member of a joint undivided family, which, during the year immediately preceding the election, has paid a sum of not less than one rupee as such cess, rate or tax,

is entitled to vote at an election of members of the Union Board. But only one member of a joint undivided family qualified under Clause (iii) and nominated by other qualified members of that family is entitled to vote on its behalf at any such election. Every person who is entitled to vote at an election of members of the Union

Board and is resident within the Union, is entitled to be a member of the Union Board if duly elected thereto.

President and Vice-President of the Union Board.

Every Union Board is presided over by a President who is elected by the members of the Union Board from among their own number. If any Union Board fails to elect a president within the prescribed period, the District Board appoints a member of the Board to be the President. Every Union Board is further entitled to elect one of its members to be the Vice-President of the Board.

The term of office of a President or Vice-President of a Union Board is the residue of his term of office as a member of the Union Board. A President may resign during his term of office by notifying in writing his intention to do so to the Chairman of the District Board and to the Union Board. If such resignation is accepted by the Chairman he is deemed to have vacated his office. A Vice-President or a member submits his resignation to the Union Board.

The District Board may remove a President from his office :

- (i) if he is convicted of any non-bailable offence,
- (ii) if he refuses to act, or becomes incapable of acting or is declared insolvent, or
- (iii) if he is guilty of misconduct or persistent negligence in the discharge of his duties as President of the Union Board or of any disgraceful conduct, and two-thirds of the total number of the members of the Union Board at a meeting recommended his removal.

al. Under the same circumstances a Vice-President may be removed from his office. But he is removed by the Union Board and not by the District Board.

Disqualification.

A person who is not a British subject or a subject of any State in India is not qualified to vote at an election of, or to be a candidate for election as a member of a Union Board, nor such person can be nominated to be a member of such Board. But the Local Government may, by notification, exempt from this disqualification any person or class of persons who are not British subjects or subjects of any State in India.

Term of Office of Members.

The term of office of a member of a Union Board is three years from the date on which the District Magistrate declares the Board to be duly constituted, but it includes any period which may elapse between the expiration of the said three years, and the date of the first meeting, at which a quorum is present of the newly elected and appointed members after the next general election of the Union Board.

Power to Remove Members.

The District Board is authorised to remove any member of a Union Board from his office :

- (a) who is convicted of any non-bailable offence,
- (b) who refuses to act, or becomes incapable of acting or is declared to be insolvent, or

- (c) who has been declared by notification to be disqualified for employment in the public service,
- (d) who, without an excuse sufficient in the opinion of the District Board, absents himself from six consecutive meetings of the Union Board, or
- (e) who has been guilty of misconduct in the discharge of his duties, or of any disgraceful conduct, if two-thirds of the total number of the members of the Union Board at a Meeting recommend his removal.

No person who has been removed from his office under Clause (a) or (c) is eligible for re-election or re-appointment.

BOMBAY

A Panchayat is established in every village. The actual number of persons is determined by the District Local Board, but it is never less than five.

The officiating patel, if any, or, if there be more than one, the officiating revenue patel or if there be more than one officiating revenue patel, the senior is ex-officio member of the Panchayat. The President of the District Board in case of doubt or dispute decides who is the senior officiating revenue patel and his decision is final. Other members of the Panchayat are elected.

Disqualification.

No person becomes or continues to be an elected member of a Panchayat who :

- (a) is a female; or

- (b) is under twenty-one years of age; or
- (c) does not ordinarily reside in the village; or
- (d) has been sentenced by a criminal court to imprisonment or whipping for an offence punishable with imprisonment for a term exceeding six months or to transportation or has been ordered to find security for good behaviour under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, such sentence or order not having been subsequently reversed or remitted or the offender pardoned if and so long as such sentence has not expired, if and so long as such order is in force, unless his disqualification has been removed by the Governor; or
- (e) has been adjudged by a competent civil court to be a lunatic, the adjustment being still in force; or
- (f) has been adjudicated an insolvent by a competent court and has not obtained his discharge; or
- (g) has been removed from office and whose disqualification has not been removed by an order which the District Local Board is empowered to make; or
- (h) has been removed from office and five years have not elapsed from the date of the expiry of such removal unless his disqualification is removed by the District Local Board. A disqualification under Clause (d) ceases on the expiration of five years from the date of the order of whipping or the termination of the period of imprisonment, transportation

or security as the case may be, and a disqualification under Clause (e) ceases on the expiration of five years from the date of the order.

Election.

The election is held in each village by the adult male residents therein at a meeting presided over by the Assistant or Deputy Collector or a person appointed in this behalf by the Collector and the result is reported by him to the Collector and the District Local Board. If the Collector after inquiry is satisfied that any disqualified man has been elected or that any corrupt or irregular practice has been committed in connection with the election of any member which in the opinion of the Collector should invalidate such election, the Collector declares the election of such member to be invalid and such declaration is final, and then a new election for the vacant seat is held.

Term of Office.

Members ordinarily hold office for a term of three years and are eligible for re-election.

Secretary.

Every Panchayat appoints a Secretary subject to the approval of the District Local Board.

Sarpanch.

The members of the Panchayat elect one of themselves as Sarpanch who ordinarily holds office for one year, but is eligible for re-election. The resolutions of the Panchayat are carried out by the Sarpanch, in whom the entire executive power of the Panchayat is vested and who is entirely responsible for the due fulfilment of the duties imposed upon by the Panchayat.

Removal.

The District Local Board is empowered to remove, after hearing the views of the Panchayat, any elected member or any Sarpanch of a Panchayat who is in its opinion unfit to be a member or Sarpanch, as the case may be, or is persistently remiss in the discharge of his duties as such; and a Sarpanch so removed unless he be an ex-officio member of the Panchayat at the discretion of the said Board, also be removed from the Panchayat. The District Local Board may also remove the Secretary of a Panchayat for similar reasons.

Power of Inspection.

The District Local Board has power :

- (a) to enter on and inspect or cause to be entered on and inspected any immovable property occupied by any Panchayat or any work in progress under it or under its direction;
- (b) to call for any extract from the proceedings of a Panchayat, any book or document in the possession of or under the control of a Panchayat, and any return, statement, account or report which it thinks fit to require such Panchayat to furnish;
- (c) to require a Panchayat to take into consideration any objection which appears to the District Local Board to exist to do doing of anything which is about to be done or is being done by such Panchayat or any information which the District Local Board is able to furnish and which appears to it to necessitate the doing of a certain thing by the Panchayat and to make a written

reply to the District Local Board within a reasonable time stating its reasons for not desisting from doing, or for not doing such thing.

The District Local Board may delegate its powers to its President, Vice-President, Chief Officer, Public Health Officer or Executive Engineer.

Extravagance in Establishment.

If in the opinion of the District Local Board the number of persons maintained or propose to be maintained by a Panchayat as officers and servants or the remuneration given or proposed to be given by the Panchayat to such persons is excessive the Panchayat, on the requirement of the District Local Board, reduces such number or remuneration. But the Panchayat is entitled to appeal against any such requirement to the Governor in Council whose decision is final.

Suspension of Executive Orders.

The District Local Board is further empowered to suspend by order in writing, under the signature of its President, the execution or prohibit the doing of any order or resolution or doing of a thing which causes or is likely to cause injury or annoyance to the public or to lead to a breach of the peace.

The Governor in Council has the discretion to rescind the order of the District Local Board or to direct that it continues in force, with or without modification, permanently or for such period as he thinks fit.

Supersession of Panchayats.

The Governor in Council may, after reference to the District Local Board, by an order in the Bombay Govern-

ment Gazette supersede a Panchayat for a period specified in the order if the Panchayat in question exceeds or abuses its powers or makes persistent default in performance of its duties. And when a Panchayat is so superseded all its members vacate their offices, all the powers and duties of the Panchayat are, during the period of supersession, exercised and performed by such person or persons as the District Local Board may from time to time appoint in that behalf. On the expiry of the period of supersession the Panchayat is reconstituted and the persons vacating their offices are eligible for reelection.

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES

The Deputy Commissioner is authorised to establish a Panchayat for a circle comprising a village or group of adjacent villages as he thinks fit.

A District Council or twenty adult male residents of a village, or a group of adjacent villages apply to the Deputy Commissioner, who, thereupon, makes an inquiry in the prescribed manner into the desirability of establishing a Panchayat, and establishes a Panchayat for a circle comprising all or any of such villages. But no circle formed includes villages forming part of different tahsils, or subject to the authority of more than one Local Board.

A Panchayat consists of such number of Panchas not being less than nine or more than fifteen, as the Deputy Commissioner may in each case think suitable. But no person is eligible as a Panch if such person :

- (a) is not a British subject or a subject of any State in India;
- (b) is in the service of Government or any local authority;

- (c) has been adjudged by a competent court to be of unsound mind;
- (d) is under twenty-one years of age;
- (e) has been dismissed from the service of the Government or any local authority for misconduct and has been declared to be disqualified for employment in the public service;
- (f) has been sentenced by a criminal court whether within or without British India to imprisonment for an offence punishable with rigorous imprisonment for a period exceeding six months, or to transportation or has been ordered to find security for good behaviour under Sections 108, 109 or 110 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, such sentence or order not having subsequently been reversed or remitted or the offender not having been pardoned;
- (g) has been debarred from practising as a legal practitioner by order of any competent authority;
- (h) has under any law for the time being in force become ineligible to be a member of any local authority;
- (i) holds any salaried office or place of profit in the gift or disposal of the Panchayat while holding such office or place;
- (j) has directly or indirectly any share or interest in any contract with, by or on behalf of, the Panchayat while owning such share or interest.

But in case of (e), (f), (g), (h), (i), (j) the disqualification may be removed by an order of the Local Government in this behalf.

A person is not, by reason of being a shareholder in, or a member of, any incorporated or registered Company held to be interested in any contract entered into between the Company and the Panchayat.

Panchas.

All Panchas except the ex-officio one (every resident mukaddum of a village in the circle is ex-officio panch) are elected from among the male owners of houses and proprietors or tenants of land permanently resident within the circle.

Election of Sarpanch.

Sarpanch is elected in a prescribed manner.

Resignation by a Sarpanch or Panch.

No resignation tendered by a Sarpanch or Panch is valid until it is accepted by the District Council.

Sarpanch or Panch Ceasing to Hold Office and His Removal.

Any Sarpanch or Panch who, after his entry in office, becomes subject to any of the disqualifications specified above, ceases to be a Sarpanch or Panch.

The District Council may at any time remove a Sarpanch or Panch :

- (a) if he refuses to act, or becomes incapable of acting or absents himself without sufficient excuse from more than three consecutive meetings of the Panchayat and if such Panchayat recommends his removal by a majority of two-thirds of its members, or

- (b) if his continuance in office is undesirable in the interest of the public or of the Panchayat, if such Panchayat recommends his removal by a majority of two-thirds of its members.

Any removal from office disqualifies the person so removed from holding the office from which he is removed for the period during which, but for such removal, he would have continued in office.

MADRAS

The Local Government is empowered to direct the constitution, for any village of a Panchayat or Panchayats, and also to modify or cancel such notification at any time.

Members Elected.

The members of a Panchayat are elected in a prescribed manner.

Numerical Strength of Panchayat.

The Local Government fixes the number of members of a Panchayat and such number is always between seven and fifteen. When a Panchayat is constituted for more than one revenue village, the Local Government determines the number of members to be allotted to each revenue village.

Qualification of Voters and Candidates.

Every male resident of the village who is more than twenty-five years old is entitled to vote at an election of Panchayatdars.

Every voter is qualified to be elected as a Panchayatdar.

President of the Panchayat.

Every Panchayat elects one of its members to be its President, who may during his temporary absence or incapacity delegate by an order in writing any of his powers or duties to a Panchayatdar. But he is forbidden to delegate any such powers or duties which the Panchayat expressly forbids him to delegate. The President is deemed to have vacated his office on the expiry of his term as Panchayatdar or on his otherwise ceasing to be a Panchayatdar.

Term of Office.

The term of office of a Panchayatdar is three years from the date of his election.

Powers to Remove.

The Local Government is empowered to remove any Panchayatdar or President from his office :

- (a) who is sentenced by a criminal court to transportation or imprisonment for a period of more than one month, provided such sentence is not reversed or the offence pardoned; or
- (b) who refuses to act or becomes incapable of acting; or
- (c) who applies to be adjudicated, or is adjudicated a bankrupt or insolvent; or
- (d) who has been ordered to find security for good behaviour under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898; or
- (e) who has been guilty of misconduct in the discharge of his duties.

Act of Panchayat Not to be Invalidated by Vacancy or Irregularity.

No act of a Panchayat is deemed invalid by reason only that the number of Panchayatdars at the time of performance of such act was less than the sanctioned strength.

THE UNITED PROVINCES

In any district or part of a district to which the Act has been applied, the Collector is empowered to establish a Panchayat within and for any village or group of adjacent villages. In this respect Collector is guided by the rules made under the Act.

Number of Panchas.

The Panchayat consists of such number of Panchas not being less than five or more than seven as the Collector may from time to time and in each case think fit.

Appointment of Panchas.

Panchas are appointed by the Collector in the prescribed manner and hold office for prescribed period.

A person not residing within the circle, for which the Panchayat has been established is not eligible for appointment as Panch of that Panchayat.

Sarpanch.

In each Panchayat, one Panch is appointed by the Collector in the prescribed manner to preside over the Panchayat. The Panch so appointed is called Sarpanch. He presides over every meeting of the Panchayat at which he is present. If he is absent such Panchas as are present elect one of them to preside at the meeting.

Suspension and Removal.

The Collector may, by an order in writing, suspend or remove any Panch or Sarpanch for misconduct, incapacity, neglect of duty or other sufficient cause.

The Collector may, with the written approval of the Commissioner, by an order in writing, suspend or dissolve any Panchayat for misconduct, neglect of duty or other sufficient cause.

Filling Vacancies.

When any Panch dies, resigns, or is removed the Collector is empowered to appoint a Panch in the prescribed manner to fill his place. No vacancy in the Panchayat renders its proceedings illegal so long as the number of Panchas is not below three.

Quorum.

Three Panchas, including the Presiding Panch form a quorum for the transaction of any business.

No business is transacted at any meeting by the Panchayat unless a Panch, able to read and write is present and presides at the meeting.

The Panchayat maintains summary records and registers of its proceedings in the prescribed form. Such records and registers are written by the Sarpanch or by the Presiding Panch with his own hand or under his immediate supervision by any other Panch.

Panchayat is empowered, subject to rules, to appoint a clerk to perform this work.

THE PUNJAB

Establishment of Panchayats.

The Act empowers the Local Government to establish a Panchayat in any village by notification in the Official

Gazette and by publication in the village concerned. If any inhabitant desires to object to such notification he may within three months from the date of its publication submit his objection in writing through the Deputy Commissioner to the Local Government and the Local Government takes his objection into consideration.

When three months from the date of publication have expired and the Local Government has considered and passed orders on such objections as may have been submitted, the Local Government may by notification establish a Panchayat for the village.

Number of Panchas.

The Local Government fixes the number of Panchas for such Panchayat, such number being between three and seven. But the Local Government is further empowered by the amendment of 1929 to modify the number of Panchas fixed for a Panchayat at any time by notification.

Appointment and Term of Panchas.

The Panchas are elected in a prescribed manner and hold office for a period of three years.

Suspension and Removal.

The Commissioner is empowered to suspend or remove any Panch by order in writing on the complaint of any elector in a village and after such inquiry as he deems fit.

If a Panchayat is incompetent to perform a duty imposed on it or persistently makes default in its performance or exceeds or abuses its powers the Local Government may suspend or abolish that Panchayat.

Sarpanch.

The Panchayat elects for a period of one year one of its members as a Sarpanch who is the Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Panchayat. The Panchayat also elects one of its members as Deputy Sarpanch to act for him in his absence.

The majority of the Panchas forms a quorum and the decision of the majority at any meeting shall be binding in all matters and when the voting is equal the Chairman shall have an additional or casting vote. When the meeting is attended by two persons no decision shall be binding unless it is unanimous.

BIHAR AND ORISSA**Establishment of Panchayats.**

In an area in which a Union Board has been established, under the direction of the Local Government, the members of the Union Board elect from among their own number three or more persons to be, as long as they are members of such Union Board, a Panchayat for the whole area of the Union or the members of the Union Board sub-divided the Union into Panchayat circles and elect from their own number three or more persons to be, again during their term of office as members of such Union Board, a Panchayat for each of the Panchayati circle so formed. Where there is no Union or without constituting one, the Local Government declares any local area to be a Panchayati circle, and a Panchayat is established for any such Panchayati circle.

Number of Members.

- Such Panchayats consist of such number of members between three and twenty as the Local Government in each case directs.

Members of Panchayats are elected within prescribed time and manner.

If on the date fixed for election the electors of any Panchayati circle fail to elect any member or members, the District Magistrate either directs that a second election be held or himself appoints members. Any person so appointed is deemed to be duly elected member.

Qualifications.

Every male person owning or occupying a dwelling house within the Panchayati circle, who during the year immediately preceding such election, has paid any sum as tax under the Village Administration Act, or under the Village Chaukidari Act, 1870, or the Chota Nagpur Rural Police Act, 1914, is entitled to vote at election for members of the Panchayat provided he is of the age of eighteen years, and if he is of the age of twenty-one years he is entitled to be a member of a Panchayat. No person can be a member of more than one Panchayat. If in any area the Village Chaukidari Act, 1870, or the Chota Nagpur Rural Police Act, 1914, has not been in force the Local Government prescribes the qualifications for voters and members.

Validity of Election.

No election can be called in question in any Court on any ground whatever.

Disqualifications.

A person who is not a British subject or a subject of any State in India is debarred from voting at an election or to be a candidate for election. But the Local Government may exempt any person or class of persons from this provision.

Term of Office.

The term of office of a member of a Panchayat is three years from the date on which the District Magistrate declares the Panchayat to be duly constituted. But this term of office includes any period which may elapse between the expiration of the said three years and the date of the first meeting at which a quorum is present of the newly elected members after the next general election for Panchayat.

Sarpanch.

The President of the Union Board, if he is a member of the Panchayat, becomes the Sarpanch of the Panchayat. If the President of the Union Board is not a member of the Panchayat, the Sarpanch is elected by the Panchayat. When the Sarpanch is absent from a sitting of the Panchayat, the Panchayat elects one of their number to be Sarpanch.

No business is transacted at any sitting by the Panchayat unless a member able to record the proceedings is present.

THE JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS OF VILLAGE PANCHAYATS

BENGAL

Whenever a Union Board has been established for any Union, the Local Government may, by notification, appoint any two or more of the members of the Board to be a Union Bench, during their term of office as members of the Board, for the trial, in the whole or any part of

the Union, of the following offences, if committed within the limits of its jurisdiction :

- (1) Offences under Sections 24, 26 and 27 of the Cattle-Trespass Act, 1871.
- (2) Offences under enactments (other than the Indian Penal Code) or any rules or bye-laws made thereunder which are punishable with fine only up to a limit of twenty-five rupees.
- (3) Offences under Section 34 of the Police Act, 1861.
- (4) Offences under the Bengal Ferries Act, 1885, except those under Sections 28 and 30.
- (5) Offences under the following sections of the Indian Penal Code, namely : Sections 160, 178, 179, 269, 277, 289, 290, 294, 323, 324, 341, 352, 358, 426, 447, 448, 504 and 510; and when the value of the property in the opinion of the Union Bench is not over twenty rupees, Sections 379 and 411.

The Union Bench may try the following offences if the case is transferred to the Bench by a District Magistrate empowered to receive petitions under Section 190 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 :

Offences under Sections 283, 428, 430, 506 and 509 of the Indian Penal Code; and when the value of the property in the opinion of the Magistrate is not over twenty rupees, Section 403.

But a Magistrate before whom a complaint of an offence cognizable by a Union Bench is brought may transfer the complaint to the Union Bench, and the District

Magistrate or Sub-Divisional Magistrate may transfer any case from one Union Bench to another or to any other Court subordinate to him. Similarly a Union Court may be appointed to try the following classes of suits :

- (A) Suits for money due on contracts,
- (B) Suits for the recovery of movable property or the value of such property; and
- (C) Suits for compensation for wrongfully taking or injuring movable property

when the value of the suit does not exceed two hundred rupees.

But, on the application of any defendant made in accordance with the provisions of Section 81, the Court of Small Causes or Court of the Munsif within the local limits of whose jurisdiction the Union is situated :

- (i) may withdraw the suit when its value does not exceed twenty-five rupees, and
- (ii) shall withdraw the suit when its value exceeds twenty-five rupees,

from a Union Court for trial by itself.

No suit lies in any Union Court :

- (1) on a balance of partnership account,
- (2) for a share or part of a share under an intestacy, or for a legacy under a will,
- (3) by or against Government or Public Officers in their official capacity,
- (4) by or against minors or persons of unsound mind,
- (5) for the assessment, enhancement, reduction, abatement, apportionment or recovery of rent of immovable property, or

- (6) by a mortgagee of immovable property for the enhancement of the mortgage by foreclosure or sale of the property or otherwise, or by a mortgagor of immovable property for the redemption of the mortgage.

Decision Final.

The decisions of the Union Bench and Union Court are final, but the District Magistrate in case of the Union Court and he or Sub-Divisional Magistrate in case of the Union Bench, may cancel or modify any order of conviction or direct the retrial of any case if he is satisfied that there has been a failure of justice.

Power of Union Bench to Impose Fine or to Award Compensation.

A Union Bench may sentence any offender convicted by it to pay a fine not exceeding twenty-five rupees or in default to imprisonment for a period not exceeding seven days. If a Union Bench is satisfied that a complaint made before it or transferred to it for trial is vexatious or frivolous, the Bench may order the complainant to pay to the accused such compensation, not exceeding twenty-five rupees in all, as it thinks fit or in default may sentence the complainant to simple imprisonment again for a period not exceeding seven days.

When a person has been sentenced to imprisonment in default of such payment, if such fine or compensation be not paid or realised within ten days of the passing of the sentence or order, or within such future time if any as the Bench may allow, the Bench may cause him to be arrested and may commit him to the nearest jail to serve his sentence.

No woman is sentenced to imprisonment in default of payment of fine or compensation.

Presidents.

The Union Bench and the Union Court are presided over by the President of the Union Board, if he is a member of the Bench or Court.

If the President of the Union Board is absent from a sitting of the Union Bench or Court or if he is not a member of the Bench or Court, as the case may be, it elects its own President.

BOMBAY

The only judicial function that Village Panchayats have got in the Bombay Presidency is that every breach of a bye-law made under the Act is cognizable by the Panchayat unless the District Magistrate directs otherwise.

A person convicted by the Panchayat is entitled, at any time within ten days after sentence is passed against him, apply for revision to the District Magistrate or to such other Magistrate, not being a member of such Panchayat, as the District Magistrate may, subject to the orders of the Governor in Council, from time to time appoint in this behalf.

The District Local Board, with the previous sanction of the Governor in Council makes bye-laws whose every breach is cognizable by Village Panchayats. These bye-laws provide for :

- (a) the purification and protection from pollution of all sources for water used for drinking purposes;
- (b) the prohibition of the removal or use for drinking purposes of any water from any stream,

tank, well or other source where such removal or use causes or is likely to cause, disease or injury to health and the prevention of such removal or use by the filling in or covering over of such tank, or well or by any other method which may be considered advisable;

- (c) the prohibition of the deposit or storage of manure refuse or other offensive matter in a manner or in places prejudicial to the public health, comfort or convenience;
- (d) the regulating of offensive calling or trades;
- (e) the disposal of corpses by burning or burial;
- (f) the excavation of earth and the filling up of excavations and depressions injurious to health or offensive to the neighbourhood;
- (g) the removal of noxious vegetation;
- (h) the repair and removal of dangerous or ruinous buildings;
- (i) the prevention of the erection of buildings without adequate provision for ventilation or the laying out and location of streets;
- (j) the regulation of markets and slaughter-houses; and
- (k) the general regulation of sanitation and conservancy.

The District Local Board is entitled to provide a penalty not exceeding ten rupees for a breach of any such bye-laws, and may apply any or all of these bye-laws to any village.

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES

Village Benches.

Whenever a Panchayat has been established, the Deputy Commissioner may appoint all or any of the Panchas to be a Village Bench and appoints one of such Panchas to be the Chairman.

Criminal Cases Cognizable by Village Bench.

The Deputy Commissioner may direct a Village Bench to take cognizance of any or all of the following offences as well as abetments of, or attempts to commit, any such offence :

UNDER THE INDIAN PENAL CODE.	SECTION.
Committing an affray	160
Driving or riding on a public way so rashly or negligently as to endanger human life, etc.	279
Omitting to take order with an animal in possession so as to guard against danger to human life, etc., for such animal	289
Committing a public nuisance	290
Obscene acts and songs	294
Voluntarily causing simple hurt	323
Voluntarily causing hurt on grave and sudden provocation	352
Wrongful restraint	341
Assault or use of criminal force otherwise than on grave and sudden provocation	352

UNDER THE INDIAN PENAL CODE.	SECTION.
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Assault or use of criminal force on grave and sudden provocation	358
Theft or theft in a dwelling house or theft by a servant where the value of the property stolen does not exceed Rs. 10	379, 380 and 381
Mischief when the damage or loss caused does not exceed Rs. 10 in value ...	426
Intentional insult with intent to provoke a breach of the peace ...	504
Criminal intimidation ...	506
Uttering any word or making any ges- ture intended to insult the modesty of a woman, etc.	509
Appearing in a public place, etc., in a state of intoxication, and causing annoyance to any person	510

UNDER THE CATTLE-TRESPASS ACT, 1871.

Forcibly opposing the seizure of cattle and rescuing the same ...	24
Damage to land or crops or public roads by pigs or cattle	26

Certain Powers Exempted.

No Village Bench takes cognizance of any criminal case in which either the complainant or accused is a

public servant other than a Kotwar or a Village Watchman or a Panch not being a member of the Village Bench or is a servant of the District Council or Local Board having authority within the circle.

A Village Bench cannot take cognizance of any offence except upon complaint and against the persons named therein. The Deputy Commissioner may, for reasons to be recorded in writing, withdraw from a Village Bench the power to take cognizance of any or all of the above mentioned offences.

The Local Government may direct that any Village Bench may take cognizance of any or all of the following offences under the Indian Penal Code as well as abetments of, or attempts to commit, any such offence.

UNDER THE INDIAN PENAL CODE.	SECTION.
Negligently doing any act known to be likely to spread infection of any disease dangerous to life	269
Defiling the water of a public spring or reservoir	277
Causing danger, obstruction or injury in any public way	283
Criminal trespass	447
House trespass	448
Dishonestly breaking open or unfastening any closed receptacle containing or supposed to contain property	461
Adultery	497
Enticing or taking away or detaining with criminal intent a married woman ...	498

Persons Exempted.

No Bench takes cognizance of any offence under Section 379, 380 or 381 of the Indian Penal Code in which the accused

- (a) has been convicted of an offence punishable under Chapter XII or Chapter XVII of the said Code with imprisonment of either description for a term of three years or upwards, or
- (b) has been previously fined for theft by any Village Bench, or
- (c) has been registered as a member of a criminal tribe under Section 4 of the Criminal Tribes Act, 1911, or
- (d) has been bound over to be of good behaviour under Section 110 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

Penalties.

Bench can levy a fine not exceeding Rs. 10, or double the damage or loss caused up to a limit of Rs. 20. No sentence of imprisonment, whether substantive or in default of fine is inflicted by any Village Bench.

A conviction by Village Bench is not deemed to be a previous conviction for the purposes of Section 75 of the Indian Penal Code, or Section 562 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

If the amount of any fine imposed, or compensation granted by a Village Bench remains unpaid for ten days after the date of the order imposing or granting it, the Village Bench certifies accordingly to the Deputy Commissioner, who proceeds to recover it as if it were an arrear of land revenue, and remits it when so recovered to the Village Bench.

Village Court.

The Deputy Commissioner may appoint a Village Court just like a Village Bench, and, subject to such pecuniary or other limitations as may be prescribed, the following suits are cognizable exclusively by a Village Court :

- (i) Suits for ascertained sums not exceeding Rs. 50;
- (ii) Suits for damages not exceeding Rs. 50 for breach of contract not affecting immovable property;
- (iii) Suits for specific movable property or for the value thereof not exceeding Rs. 50; and
- (iv) Suits for compensation for wrongfully taking or injuring movable property not exceeding Rs. 50 in value.

But a Village Court cannot take cognizance of any suit :

- (i) on a balance of partnership account,
- (ii) for a share or part of share under an intestacy, or for a legacy or part of a legacy under a will,
- (iii) by or against Government or public officers in their official capacity or by or against any Panch being a member of the Village Court,
- (iv) by or against minors or persons of unsound mind,
- (v) in respect of any dispute or matter in which a suit or application may be brought or made before a Revenue Officer or in a Civil Court presided over by such officer.

The Local Government may direct by notification that any Village Court may try any suit up to such value, not exceeding Rs. 100 as may be specified in the notification. Similarly with the written consent of both parties suits value of which does not exceed Rs. 100 are triable by such Village Court.

Execution through Deputy Commissioner.

The execution of decree takes place through the Deputy Commissioner if it remains unsatisfied for one month after the due date or any amount payable under it remains unpaid for one month after the date when it fell due.

No Legal Practitioner to Appear.

No legal practitioner is allowed to appear on behalf of any party in any proceedings before a Village Court or Village Bench.

Deputy Commissioner May Cancel Jurisdiction or Quash Proceedings.

The Deputy Commissioner at any time, for just and sufficient cause, may by an order in writing.

- (a) cancel the jurisdiction of any Village Court or Village Bench with respect to any civil or criminal case, or
- (b) quash any proceeding of a Village Court or Village Bench in any civil or criminal case at any stage thereof, or
- (c) cancel the decree or order passed by any Village Court or Village Bench in any civil or criminal case and direct the return or refund of any property, money, fine, fee, or compensation recovered, realised or paid

under such decree or order or in the course of connected proceedings. But except on the ground of fraud, no decree or order is cancelled by the Deputy Commissioner after the expiry of six months from the date of such order or decree.

MADRAS

The Village Panchayats in the Madras Presidency do not have any judicial functions; They have only administrative powers and functions.

THE UNITED PROVINCES

Criminal Judicial Powers.

The following offences, as well as abetments of and attempts to commit any such offence are cognizable by Panchayats :—

UNDER THE INDIAN PENAL CODE.	SECTION.
Voluntarily causing hurt	323
Assault or use of criminal force otherwise than on grave provocation	352
Assault or use of criminal force on grave provocation	358
Theft where the value of property stolen does not exceed ten rupees	379
Mischief when the damage or loss caused does not exceed ten rupees in value	426
Intentional insult with intent to provoke a breach of peace	504

But no offence of theft is cognizable by a Panchayat unless an accused person has been either apprehended or recognised or named.

UNDER THE CATTLE-TRESPASS ACT, 1871. SECTION.

Forcibly opposing the seizure of cattle or re-
scuing the same 24

UNDER THE UNITED PROVINCES VILLAGE SANITATION ACT,
1892.

Breaches of rules made under Section 14 and punishable
under Section 15.

Certain Parties Excluded from Jurisdiction.

A Panchayat is not empowered to take cognizance of any offence in which either the complainant or the accused is a public servant serving in the district in which the Panchayat's circle is situated.

Certain Persons Not to be Tried for Theft.

A Panchayat does not take cognizance of any offence under Section 379 of the Indian Penal Code in which the accused :—

- (a) has been previously convicted of an offence punishable under Chapter XII or Chapter XVII of the Indian Penal Code with imprisonment of either description for a term of three years or upwards, or
- (b) has been previously tried for theft by any Panchayat, or
- (c) is a registered member of a criminal tribe under Section 4 of the Criminal Tribes Act 1911, or
- (d) has been bound over to be of good behaviour in proceedings instituted under Section 109 or Section 110 of the Code of Criminal Procedure 1898.

Conviction by a Panchayat Not a Previous Conviction.

A conviction by a Panchayat is not deemed a previous conviction for the purposes of Section 75 of the Indian Penal Code.

Penalties.

The following are the maximum penalties which are inflicted by a Panchayat :

- (a) Under the Indian Penal Code—Fine not exceeding ten rupees or double the damage or loss caused whichever is greater,
- (b) Under the Cattle Trespass Act 1871—Fine not exceeding five rupees,
- (c) Under the United Provinces Village Sanitation Act 1892—Fine not exceeding one rupee.

No Panchayat can inflict a sentence of imprisonment, whether substantive or in default of fine.

Compensation to Complainants.

In inflicting any fine the Panchayat may order any portion or the whole of the fine recovered to be applied :

- (a) in defraying expenses properly incurred in the case by the complainant,
- (b) in compensation for any material damage or loss caused by the offence committed.

Compensation to Accused for a False Case.

If a Panchayat is satisfied after inquiry that a case brought before it was false, frivolous, or vexatious, such Panchayats may order the complainant to pay to the accused such compensation not exceeding five rupees as it thinks fit.

Civil Judicial Powers.

The following suits are cognizable by Panchayats :

- (a) Suits for money due on contracts not affecting any interest in immovable property,
- (b) Suits for the recovery of movable property, or for the value of such property,
- (c) Suits for compensation for wrongfully taking or injuring movable property,

when the amount or the value of the claim does not exceed twenty-five rupees. But no suit is brought before any Panchayat :

- (1) on a balance of partnership account;
- (2) for a share or part of a share under an intestacy, or for a legacy or part of a legacy under a will;
- (3) by or against the Government or a Public Officer in his official capacity;
- (4) by or against a minor or a person of unsound mind;
- (5) on account of any dispute or matter in respect of which any suit or application may be brought or made in a Revenue Court.

Enhanced Powers for Special Panchayats.

The Local Government is empowered to grant enhanced powers for special Panchayats. Such Panchayats exercise the following enhanced powers :

- (1) to hear and determine suits of the said nature, when the amount or value of the claim does not exceed fifty rupees,

- (2) to take cognizance of offences of theft under Section 379, Indian Penal Code, where the value of the property stolen does not exceed twenty rupees in value,
- (3) to take cognizance of offences of mischief under Section 426, Indian Penal Code, where the damage or loss caused does not exceed twenty rupees in value,
- (4) to inflict the following maximum penalties :
 - (a) Under the Indian Penal Code—Fine not exceeding twenty rupees or double the damage or loss caused whichever is greater,
 - (b) Under Section 24 of the Cattle Trespass Act 1871—Fine not exceeding ten rupees,
 - (c) Under the United Provinces Village Sanitation Act 1892—Fine not exceeding two rupees.

Transfer of Cases to Panchayats by Magistrates.

Any Magistrate upon receiving a complaint of facts constituting an offence triable by a Panchayat transfers the case for trial to the Panchayat having jurisdiction to try it unless reason shown to the contrary.

Exclusive Jurisdiction.

• Courts are forbidden to take cognizance of any suit which is cognizable by a Panchayat unless the Collector has passed order to the contrary in writing.

Panchayat Not to Revive or Alter its Decision.

A Panchayat has no power to cancel, revive or alter any decree or order passed by it. But a Panchayat may, for reasons to be recorded on application made within one month of the date of the decree or order, restore any suit which has been dismissed in default or in which a decree has been passed ex-parte against the defendant.

Reference of Important Cases by Panchayat to Collector.

When any Panchayat having jurisdiction is of opinion that any suit or case before it is of such nature, or of such intricacy or importance that it ought to be tried by a regular court, it stays proceedings and reports the matter to the Collector for orders.

Panchayat's Decrees and Orders Not to be Questioned on Ground of Jurisdiction.

No order or decree of a Panchayat is called in question in any Court on the ground that it was passed without jurisdiction. But the Collector may at any time, whether on a reference by a Panchayat or of his own motion, by order in writing :

- (a) cancel the jurisdiction of a Panchayat with respect to any suit or case, or
- (b) quash any proceedings of a Panchayat at any stage, or
- (c) cancel any order or decree passed by a Panchayat.

No Appeal.

There is no appeal from any decree or order passed by a Panchayat in any suit.

THE PUNJAB

Criminal Judicial Powers.

The Local Government may by notification in the Official Gazette confer upon the Panchayat criminal judicial powers, and the Panchayat thereupon takes cognizance of any of the following offences upon complaint of facts constituting such an offence, namely:—

(A) Theft as punishable under Section 379 of the Indian Penal Code, where the value of the property stolen does not exceed fifty rupees and the accused is named in the complaint or is under arrest. But a Panchayat does not take cognizance of any such complaint if the accused:—

- (i) has been previously convicted of an offence under Chapter XII or Chapter XVII of the Indian Penal Code punishable with imprisonment of either description for a term of three years or upwards; or
- (ii) has been previously fined for theft by any Panchayat; or
- (iii) is a registered member of a criminal tribe under Section 4 of the Criminal Tribes Act; or
- (iv) has been bound over to be of good behaviour in proceedings instituted under Section 109 or Section 110 of the Code of Criminal Procedure 1898; or
- (v) has had an order of restriction passed against him under the Restriction of Habitual Offender (Punjab) Act, 1918.

- (B) Mischief, as punishable under Section 426 of the Indian Penal Code, where the value of the property affected does not exceed fifty rupees and the accused is named in the complaint or is under arrest, or , ,
- (C) Assault as punishable under Section 352 of the Indian Penal Code,
- (D) Criminal force as punishable under Section 358 of the Indian Penal Code,
- (E) Offences under Section 22 of the Vaccination Act, 1880,
- (F) Offences under Sections 13 and 14 of the Punjab Primary Education Act, 1919, where the Panchayat has not been authorised to perform the functions of the school attendance committee under Section 16 of that Act,
- (G) Offences under Sections 24 and 26 of the Cattle Trespass Act, 1871, and
- (H) Such offences as may be committed by village Watchman in connection with the duties of which the supervision devolves upon the Panchayat in accordance with the rules prescribed by the Local Government under Section 39 of the Punjab Laws Act 1872.

Criminal Judicial Powers upon Reference by a Magistrate.

A Magistrate competent to take cognizance of an offence under Section 323 or Section 504 of the Indian Penal Code may refer the complaint to the Panchayat which shall thereupon be competent to take cognizance of the offence and to dispose of the complaint. But the

District Magistrate on the application of the complainant or of the accused may withdraw any complaint so referred, and transfer it for disposal to any Magistrate subordinate to him.

Penalties and Compensation to Complainant.

On conviction of an offence under Section 379 or Section 426 of the Indian Penal Code or Section 24 of the Cattle Trespass Act, 1871, the Panchayat may impose a fine not exceeding double the value of the loss or damage caused or ten rupees, whichever to be greater, and on conviction of any other offences enumerated above it may impose a fine not exceeding rupees twenty-five or the fine prescribed by the Act constituting the offence whichever be the less. It may also direct that the whole or part of the fine when realised shall be paid as compensation to the complainant, and that the balance, if any, shall be credited to the Panchayat fund.

Certain Parties Excluded from Jurisdiction.

No Panchayat takes cognizance of any offence in which

- (a) either the complainant or the accused is a public servant serving in the district in which the area of the Panchayat's jurisdiction is situated; or
- (b) the complainant or the accused is a European subject.

The Local Government is empowered to confer on the Panchayats civil judicial powers and the Panchayats thereupon entertain and decide any claims due on contracts or for movable property or for the value of such property or for compensation for wrongfully taking or in-

juring such property when the debt or demand or compensation does not exceed fifty rupees and the defendant resides or carries on business or personally works for gain within the limits of the Tahsil, in which the village is situated. But

(1) no claim is entertained or decided by a Panchayat on a balance of a partnership account or for a share or part of a share under an intestacy or for a legacy or for a part of a legacy under a will or preferred by or against the security of state or public servant in his official capacity or a minor or a person of unsound mind, or on account of any dispute or matter regarding which any suit or application may be made in a Revenue Court as defined in the Punjab Tenancy Act 1887.

(2) no claim or issue is entertained or decided by any Panchayat in which the matter in issue is pending for decision or has been heard or decided by a Court of competent jurisdiction in a former suit between the same parties or those under whom they claim.

Exclusive Jurisdiction.

No Court takes cognizance of any offence or entertains any claim triable by the Panchayat.

Finality of Panchayat's Decision.

The Panchayat is not competent to cancel, revise or alter any sentence or decree or final order passed by it, saving ex-parte decrees or orders.

No Appeal.

No sentence, decree or other order passed by a Panchayat is subject to appeal, revision or review at the hands of any Court or other authority. But whenever a Panchayat has given a decree or passed a sentence, not unanimously but by a majority of votes, any party aggrieved may, within one month of the order, apply to the Deputy Commissioner, who shall thereupon, direct a re-trial by a Joint Panchayat consisting of the members of the Panchayat which passed the order and the members of a neighbouring Panchayat in the same district. The decision of the majority of such Joint Panchayat is final, but if there is an equal division of votes the original order stands.

Not Previous Conviction.

Conviction by the Panchayat is not deemed to be a previous conviction for the purposes of Section 75 of the Indian Penal Code, of Section 562 of the Code of Criminal Procedure 1898, nor it disqualifies any person from exercising any electoral right or from being elected or sitting as a member of any local authority or from being appointed to or holding any legal office.

BIHAR AND ORISSA**Criminal Jurisdiction.**

A Panchayat has jurisdiction concurrent with that of the Criminal Court within the local limits of whose jurisdiction the Panchayat circle is situated to take cognizance of and to try the following offences as well as

abetments of and attempts to commit any such offence if committed within the local limits of its jurisdiction :

UNDER THE INDIAN PENAL CODE.	SECTION.
Committing affray ... , ...	160
Refusing oath or affirmation when duly required by a public servant to make it ...	178
Refusing to answer public servant authorised to question	179
Fouling the water of a public spring or reservoir	277
Negligent conduct with respect to any animal	289
Punishment for public nuisance in cases not otherwise provided for	290
Obscene acts and songs	294
Voluntarily causing hurt	323
Wrongfully restraining any person ...	341
Assault by the use of criminal force otherwise than on grave and sudden provocation	352
Theft when the value of the property stolen in the opinion of the Panchayat does not exceed fifty rupees	379
Dishonestly receiving stolen property knowing it to be stolen, when the value of the property in the opinion of the Panchayat does not exceed fifty rupees	411
Mischief, when the damage or loss caused in the opinion of the Panchayat does not exceed fifty rupees in value	426
Insult intended to provoke a breach of the peace	504.

UNDER THE INDIAN PENAL CODE. SECTION.

Uttering any word or making any gesture intending to insult modesty of a woman, etc. 509

State of intoxication and causing annoyance to any person ... 510

UNDER THE CATTLE-TRESPASS ACT, 1871. SECTION.

Forcibly opposing the seizure of cattle or rescuing the same ... 20

and all offences under Section 34 of the Police Act, 1861.

Transferred Powers.

A Panchayat is empowered to try any of the following offences if the case is transferred to the Panchayat by the District Magistrate, Sub-Divisional Magistrate or any other Magistrate empowered to transfer cases under Section 192 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 :

UNDER THE INDIAN PENAL CODE. SECTION.

Danger or obstruction in public way ... 283

Dishonest misappropriation of movable property or converting it to one's own use, when the value of the property in the opinion of the Magistrate is not over fifty rupees ... 403

Mischief by killing, poisoning, maiming or rendering useless any animal of the value of ten rupees and upwards ... 428

Mischief by causing diminution of supply of water for agricultural purposes ... 430

Criminal intimidation ... 506

Criminal trespass ... 447

• House trespass ... 448

Exclusive Jurisdiction.

A Magistrate before whom a complaint of any offence cognizable by a Panchayat is brought transfers the complaint to the Panchayat unless reason be shown to the contrary to his satisfaction.

The District Magistrate or Sub-Divisional Magistrate is empowered to transfer any case from one Panchayat to another or to any other court subordinate to him.

A Panchayat is forbidden to try a case in which a European British subject is concerned whether as complainant or accused.

Certain Persons Not to be Tried by Panchayat for Theft.

A Panchayat is forbidden to take cognizance of any offence under Section 379 or 411 of the Indian Penal Code in which the accused :—

- (a) has been previously convicted of an offence punishable under Chapter XVII of the Indian Penal Code with imprisonment for a term of three years or upwards, or
- (b) has been previously fined for theft by any Panchayat, or
- (c) is a registered member of a criminal tribe under Section 4 of the Criminal Tribes Act, 1911, or
- (d) has been bound over for good behaviour under Section 109 or 110 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

Punishment.

A Panchayat is authorised to levy on any offender convicted by it a fine not exceeding fifty rupees or double the value of the damage or loss caused, whichever is

greater, or in default may sentence him to a imprisonment for a period not exceeding fourteen days. The Panchayat may also in lieu of sentencing an offender convicted by it to a fine, pass the order "convicted and discharged with a warning."

If a complaint made before a Panchayat or transferred to it for trial is found after inquiry to be vexatious or frivolous the Panchayat is empowered to order the complainant to pay to the accused such compensation not exceeding twenty-five rupees as it thinks proper or in default may sentence the complainant to simple imprisonment for a period not exceeding seven days.

Enhanced Powers of Selected Panchayats.

The Local Government is empowered to grant enhanced powers to selected Panchayats. Such Panchayats exercise the following enhanced powers:—

- (a) to take cognizance of and to try cases under Sections 379, 411 and 426 of the Indian Penal Code. But the value of the property stolen or of the amount of the damage or loss caused must not exceed one hundred rupees. The Local Government may direct the Panchayat to hear and decide cases under other sections of the Indian Penal Code.

A Panchayat is authorised to sentence any offender convicted before it to a fine not exceeding one hundred rupees or double the damage or loss caused whichever is greater or in default to imprisonment not exceeding one month.

Exclusive Civil Jurisdiction.

A Panchayat is authorised to hear and decide the following classes of suits, and no court can take

cognizance of them unless the District Judge or the Panchayat itself has passed an order to the effect :

- (a) Suits for money due on contract,
- (b) Suits for the recovery of movable property or the value of such property, and
- (c) Suits for compensation for wrongfully taking or injuring movable property

when the value of the suit does not exceed twenty-five rupees.

But a Panchayat which is specially empowered by the Local Government may hear and determine such suits when the value of the suit exceeds twenty-five rupees but is not more than one hundred rupees.

Concurrent Jurisdiction.

A Panchayat and the ordinary Civil Court within the local limits of whose jurisdiction the Panchayat circle is situated have concurrent jurisdiction to try :—

- (1) the classes of suits over which a Panchayat has exclusive jurisdiction when the value of the suit exceeds the limit but does not exceed two hundred rupees.
- (2) suits for the recovery of the rent of immovable property when the value of the suit does not exceed twenty-five rupees.
- (3) if the Local Government directs, suits for the recovery of money or movable property other than those which are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Panchayat and of higher value.

ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS AND POWERS
OF VILLAGE PANCHAYATS

BENGAL

Every Union Board

- (a) takes such action as is necessary to secure the due performance by the Dafadars and Chaukidars of the Union of the duties imposed on them under the Act, and exercises a general control over them,
- (b) provides, as far as possible, for the sanitation and conservancy of the Union and for the prevention of public nuisances therein,
- (c) makes special arrangements for the sanitation and conservancy of fairs and melas held within the Union,
- (d) has control of all drains and other conservancy works within the Union which are not under the control of any other authority,
- (e) executes all works that are necessary for the preservation of public health and for improving the sanitation, conservancy or drainage of the Union,
- (f) supplies any local information which the District Magistrate or the District Board or Local Board may require,
- (g) performs all such other acts as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of the Act,
- (h) performs such functions as may be transferred to it by notification under Section 31 of the Cattle Trespass Act, 1871,

- (i) if required to do so by the District Magistrate provides for the registration of births and deaths with the Union under the provisions of the Bengal Births and Deaths Registration Act, 1873,
- (j) causes such processes as may be received by the Union Board for service to be duly served by a Dafadar or Chaukidar, and
- (k) undertakes and carries out any other local work of public utility likely to promote the health, comfort, or convenience of the public and not otherwise provided for.

Powers as to Sanitation, Conservancy and Drainage.

If it appears necessary to improve the sanitary condition of the Union, or any part thereof, the Union Board, may, or under the orders of the District Board, shall

- (i) cause huts or privies to be removed either wholly or in part;
- (ii) cause private drains to be constructed, altered or removed;
- (iii) cause public drains to be constructed, altered or removed;
- (iv) cause any well, pool, ditch, tank, pit or pond or any place containing or used for the collection of any drainage, filth or stagnant water which appears to be injurious to health or offensive to neighbourhood, or in any other respects a nuisance, to be filled up, cleansed, or deepened or the water to be drained off or removed therefrom, or such

other action to be taken therewith as may be deemed necessary;

- (v) cause any land, which by reason of thick vegetation, undergrowth or jungle appears to be in a state injurious to health, or offensive to neighbourhood or to form an impediment to efficient ventilation, to be cleared of such vegetation, undergrowth or jungle;
- (vi) cause burning ghats and burial grounds to be established; and
- (vii) cause such other improvements to be made as are necessary to improve the sanitary condition of such Union or part.

The Union Board may, by written notice, require, within a reasonable period to be specified therein :

- (i) the owner or occupier of any hut, or the owner of any privy to remove such hut or privy either wholly or in part; or
- (ii) the owner or occupier of any building to construct private drains therefor or to alter or remove private drains thereof; or
- (iii) the owner or occupier of any land or building to which any such well, pool, ditch, tank, pit, pond, place pertains to do anything which the Union Board is itself empowered to do.

If any work required by any such notice is not executed within the period specified in the notice, the Union Board may itself cause such work to be carried out, and may recover the cost of such work or part thereof from the owner or occupier as if it were an arrear of rate.

An appeal lies against every notice to the Chairman of the District Board which must be filed within fifteen days from the date of service of the notice.

Power of Union Board as to Cleansing of Union.

A Union Board may employ an establishment for the cleansing of the Union or any part thereof.

Where no such establishment is employed by a Union Board the Board may, by written notice, require owners or occupiers of land in the Union to cleanse such land to the satisfaction of the Board within a reasonable period, to be specified in the notice, and if the person fails to comply with the requisition contained in the notice, the Union Board causes the land to be cleansed and recovers the cost from the person. An appeal can be made in this case also to the Chairman of the Local Board within fifteen days from the date of service of the notice.

Powers of Union Board to Control Erection of Building.

The Union Board is empowered to, by written order,

- (a) direct, in accordance with the scheme approved by the Local Board for any part of the Union, that no building, wall or platform shall be erected, re-erected or ordered to be erected in advance of an alignment to be prescribed by the Union Board and demarcated on the ground; and
- (b) prescribe, in accordance with the said scheme, the space which shall intervene between any new or enlarged building and building next adjacent and between any new or enlarged building and any road in the Union.

Where any building, wall or platform has been placed in contravention of an order passed by the Union, the Union Board may apply to the District Magistrate who after having heard the owner fully may make an order

- (i) directing either that the work done, or so much of the same as has been executed be demolished by the owner of the building, wall or platform, or that it be altered by him to the satisfaction of the Union Board within such time as may be fixed by the District Magistrate, or
- (ii) directing that the work be demolished or altered by the Union Board at the expense of the owner within a fixed time.

If any person to whom a direction to demolish or alter any building, wall or platform fails to obey the same, he is liable to a fine which may extend, in the case of a masonry building, wall or platform, to one hundred rupees, and, in the case of any other building, wall or platform to twenty rupees, and to a further fine which may extend, in the case of a masonry building, wall or platform, to ten rupees, and in the case of any other building, wall or platform to two rupees for each day during which, after the period fixed by the District Magistrate, he fails to obey the direction to demolish or alter the building, wall or platform.

Power to Provide for Proper Water Supply.

- A Union Board is empowered to provide the Union or any part thereof, with a supply of water, proper and sufficient, for public and private purposes, and for such

purposes, may, or under the orders of the District Board shall—

- (a) construct, repair and maintain tanks or wells, and clear out streams and watercourses,
- (b) with the sanction of the Local Government, and subject to such rules as may be made, construct, repair and maintain waterworks,
- (c) purchase or acquire by lease or gift any tank, well, stream or watercourse, or any right to take or convey water within or without the Union,
- (d) with the consent of the owner thereof, utilize, cleanse, or repair any tank, well, stream or watercourse within the Union, or provide facilities for obtaining water therefrom,
- (e) contract with any person for a supply of water,
- (f) do any other acts necessary for carrying out the purposes.

It may, by order published at such places as it may think fit, set apart for the supply to the public of water for drinking or culinary purposes any tank, well, stream or watercourse in respect of which action has been taken, subject to any rights which the owners may retain with the consent of the Board, and may prohibit all bathing, washing of clothes and animals, or other acts calculated to pollute the water of any tank, well, stream or watercourse set apart for drinking or culinary purposes and any person who disobeys an order may be punished with fine which may extend to twenty-five rupees.

Powers to Roads, Bridges and Waterways.

The Board has control of all roads, bridges and waterways within the Union, not being private property and not being under the control of Local Government or the District Board or Local Board, and may do all things necessary for the maintenance and repair thereof, and may—

- (a) lay out and make new roads,
- (b) construct new bridges,
- (c) divert, discontinue or close any road or bridge,
- (d) widen, open, enlarge, or otherwise improve any road or bridge,
- (e) deepen or otherwise improve waterways, and
- (f) provide for the lighting of any road or public place within the Union.

Establishment of Primary Schools and Dispensaries.

The Board may establish primary schools or dispensaries or assume charge of existing primary schools or dispensaries and shall repair, maintain and manage any primary school or dispensary under its charge.

Transfer of Certain Duties from the District or Local Board to a Union Board.

The District Board or Local Board may from time to time, with the consent of the Union Board, make over to a Union Board, subject to such conditions as they may deem necessary the management of any institution or the execution of any work or duty within the area over which the Union Board has control; and thereupon such Union

Board shall do all things necessary for the management of the institution or execution of the work or duty. But funds necessary for the management of the institution and the execution of the work or duty shall be placed by the District Board or Local Board at the disposal of the Union Board.

Prohibition of Certain Offensive or Dangerous Trades Without Licence.

In any Union which is specially empowered, no place shall be used without a licence from the Union Board which shall be renewable annually, for the purposes of any trade or business which the Local Government may, by notification, declare to be offensive or dangerous. A notification authorises the Union Board to levy a fee not exceeding such minimum amount as may be specified in the notification in respect of any licence granted by it, and subject to the approval of the District Magistrate to impose such conditions in respect of such licence as may be considered necessary. Whoever uses any place for the purpose of any trade or business which is declared to be offensive or dangerous or fails to comply with any condition subject to which a licence is granted, is punished with fine which may extend to twenty-five rupees, and to a further fine which may extend to five rupees for each day after conviction during which he continues so to offend. The Union Board, upon the conviction of any person for failing to comply with any condition of a licence, may suspend or cancel any such licence. An appeal lies to the District Magistrate against every order by a Union Board refusing, suspending or cancelling a licence; and the decision of the District Magistrate is final.

Power of Entry.

The Union Board, or any member, officer or servant thereof, may enter into or upon any building or land, with or without assistants or workmen in order to make any inspection or execute any work. But no such entry is made between sunset and sunrise, no dwelling house is so entered, unless with the consent of the occupier, without giving the said occupier at least twenty-four hours previous written notice signed by the President or Vice-President of the intention to make such entry, and due regard always be had so far as may be compatible with the exigencies of the purpose for which the entry is made, to the social and religious usages of the occupants of the premises entered.

Appointment of Establishment.

With the approval of the Local Board, a Union Board may appoint such staff of officers and servants as it may consider necessary to carry out its duties, and may fix the salaries to be paid to such staff.

BOMBAY**Duties of Panchayats.**

It is the duty of the Panchayat within the limits of the fund at its disposal to make reasonable provision for carrying out the requirements of the village in respect of as many of the following matters as the District Local Board directs:—

- (a) the supply of water for domestic use,
- (b) the cleansing of the public roads, drains, tanks, and wells (other than used exclusively for

irrigation) and other public places or works in the village,

- (c) the construction, maintenance, and repair of minor roads, drains and bridges. But such works are undertaken only with the permission of the person or authority in whom or in which the road, drain or bridge vests,
- (d) sanitation, conservancy, and the prevention and abatement of nuisances,
- (e) the preservation and improvement of the public health,
- (f) the maintenance and the regulation of the use of public buildings vested in the Panchayat, grazing lands, tanks and wells (other than used exclusively for irrigation), and
- (g) the lighting of the village.

The Panchayat is further empowered to make provision for carrying out the requirements of the village in respect of any other matters approved by the District Local Board.

Additional Duties.

The District Local Board may, at any time, with the consent of the Panchayat transfer to such Panchayat the management of any institution or the execution of any work but in every case the funds necessary for such management or execution is placed at the disposal of the Panchayat by the District Local Board.

Other Duties.

The Panchayat, subject to rules made by the District Local Board, supervises the village school, the labour

employed by Local Boards on works within the village, manages and maintains Cattle Pounds, and performs such other administrative duties as may from time to time be assigned to it by the Governor in Council by notification in the Bombay Gazette.

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES

The Panchayat is authorised to undertake the control and administration of, and be responsible for :

- (a) the conservancy of the circle;
- (b) the water-supply of the circle;
- (c) the construction and maintenance of such roads, buildings or other works within the circle as the District Council may prescribe; and
- (d) any other work or measure of public utility within the circle.

The Panchayat is bound to cooperate with the officers of Government and local bodies in the performance of such of their duties as the Local Government may prescribe. But a Panchayat is not required to undertake any responsibility for the supply of *rasad* and labour.

MADRAS

Functions of Panchayats.

Subject to rules made by the Local Government, a Panchayat exercises the powers and performs the duties specified below :—

- (i) construction and maintenance of village roads; culverts, bridges, and buildings,
- (ii) lighting of streets and public places,

- (iii) construction of drains and disposal of drainage water and sullage,
- (iv) cleansing of streets, removal of rubbish heaps, jungle growth and prickly-pear, filling in of disused wells, insanitary ponds, pools, ditches, pits, or hollows and other improvements of the sanitary condition of the village,
- (v) provision of public latrines and arrangements to cleanse public and private latrines,
- (vi) opening and maintenance of burning ghats and burial ghats,
- (vii) sinking and repairing of wells, excavation, repair and maintenance of ponds or tanks for supply of water for drinking, washing and bathing purposes, and construction of bathing ghats,
- (viii) control of cattle-stands, threshing floor, topes and other communal forambakes,
- (ix) control of chavadis, chatrams, rest-houses and other property belonging to the villagers in common.
- (x) extension of village-sites and regulation of building,
- (xi) enforcement of vaccination.
- (xii) registration of births and deaths,
- (xiii) opening and maintenance of village libraries,
- (xiv) control of ponds,
- (xv) village protection, and

- (xvi) other measures of public utility calculated to promote the safety, health, comfort or convenience of the villagers.

Functions which a Local Board may Authorise Panchayat to Exercise.

There are some functions which a District or Taluk Board exercises, and which a Panchayat exercises when authorised for the same by the District or Taluk Board within whose jurisdiction the Panchayat is constituted with the consent of the Panchayat and subject to such conditions as may be agreed upon. Such functions are :-

- (i) construction and control of markets, slaughter-houses, and cart-stands,
- (ii) sanitary arrangements for public festivals,
- (iii) control of fairs,
- (iv) control of fisheries,
- (v) planting and preservation of trees on roads,
- (vi) establishment and maintenance of elementary schools and other matters connected with elementary education, and
- (vii) provision of medical relief.

Transfer of Village Forests to Panchayats.

The Local Government is empowered, subject to such condition, if any by the Panchayat as they may prescribe, to transfer to any Panchayat the management, protection, and maintenance of village forests, whether reserved for fuel and fodder or for other purposes.

Transfer of Functions in Respect of Irrigation Work.

The Local Government is empowered, subject to such conditions as they may prescribe, to transfer to any Pancha-

yat the protection and maintenance of any village irrigation work, the management of turns of irrigation, the enforcement of *kuaimaramat* or the regulation of the distribution of water from any irrigation work to the fields depending on it.

Institutions or Works may be Transferred to Panchayat.

Subject to such rules as may be made by the Local Government, a District Board or Taluk Board or Collector or any private person or body of persons, may make over to such Panchayat, subject to such conditions as may be agreed upon, the management of any institution or the execution or maintenance of any work or the performance of any duty within the area over which the Panchayat has control. But the consent of the Panchayat must be obtained.

Government's Power to Add to Functions of Panchayats.

The Local Government is further empowered, subject to certain conditions, to authorise any Panchayat, by a general or special order, to exercise any functions or perform any duties other than those abovementioned.

Appointment of Committees.

A Panchayat is authorised to appoint from among its members committees and delegate them its power to dispose of matters relating to any particular branch of the administration. The Panchayat may appoint individual Panchayatdars or committees of Panchayatdars to inquire into and report on any such matters. The Panchayat is further authorised from time to time by a resolution supported by not less than one-half of its sanctioned strength to appoint members of any committee, for such term as the Panchayat may specify, any persons who

are not Panchayatdars but who in the opinion of the Panchayat possess special qualifications for serving on such committee. All the duties, powers and liabilities of Panchayatdars are applicable to such persons.

Joint Committee.

Panchayat or Panchayats and other local authorities may join :

- (a) in appointing out of their respective bodies a joint committee for any purpose in which they are jointly interested,
- (b) in delegating to such committee power to frame terms binding on each such authority as to construction and maintenance of any joint work and any power which might be exercised by any of such authorities, and
- (c) in framing and modifying rules, fixing the constitution of such committee and the term of office of its members, and regulating the proceedings of such committee relating to the purpose for which the committee is appointed.

Powers of Panchayat for Carrying out its Purposes.

A Panchayat has power to do all acts necessary for and incidental to the carrying out of the functions entrusted to it. It has control of all roads, culverts, bridges, drains, drainage works, and waterways, other than canals, or irrigation channels within its jurisdiction, if not private property, and not specially excepted by any order of the Local Government or the District or Taluk

Board and may do all things necessary for the maintenance and repair thereof and may—

- (i) lay out and make new roads,
- (ii) construct new bridges or culverts,
- (iii) widen, open, enlarge or otherwise improve any road or bridge,
- (iv) construct drains or drainage works,
- (v) deepen or otherwise improve waterways, and
- (vi) provide for the lighting of any road or public place within its area.

To improve the sanitary condition of the village or a part of it a Panchayat has the following powers:—

- (i) to call upon the owner or occupier of any building to construct private drains therefor or alter, or remove the private drains thereof within a reasonable period;
- (ii) if a building or land contains or is attached to any well, pool, ditch, pit, pond, tank, or any place containing or used for the collection of any drainage, filth or stagnant water which is injurious to health or offensive to neighbourhood or otherwise is a source of nuisance. The Panchayat is to call upon the owner or occupier of that building and land to cause the same to be filled up, cleansed, or deepened, or cause the water to be removed therefrom or drained off or to take such other action therewith as may be deemed by the Panchayat necessary;
- (iii) if there is a land overgrown with vegetation, undergrowth, prickly-pear or scrub-jungle which is in any manner injurious to health

or dangerous to the public or offensive to the neighbourhood, the Panchayat is to call upon the owner and occupier of the land to cause it to be cleared of the vegetation, undergrowth or prickly-pear or scrub-jungle;

- (iv) if a land or building requires to be cleansed, to require the owner to cause the same to be cleansed or lime-washed within a reasonable period, and
- (v) to prohibit digging for gravel, earth or sand or quarrying stone, except on a licence granted by the Panchayat.

For the purpose of providing the village with a supply of water for public and private purposes, the Panchayat is to construct, repair and maintain tanks, or wells and clear out streams or water sources to purchase or acquire by lease or gift any tank, well, stream or water source, and with the consent of the owner, cleanse or repair it or provide facilities for obtaining water therefrom, to prohibit, during epidemics, the use of any water source for drinking or culinary purposes and to prohibit all bathing, washing of clothes, and animals, etc., likely to pollute the source so set apart.

Power of Entry.

A member, officer or servant of a Panchayat is authorised to enter into or upon any building or land, with or without assistants or workmen to make any inspection or execute any work for the purposes of, or in pursuance of, its functions. But no such entry is to be made between sunset and sunrise, and unless the entry is made with the consent of its occupier, no dwelling house is to

be entered without giving reasonable previous notice, and due regard must be paid in making such entry to the social and religious usages of the occupants of the premises entered.

Panchayat to Make its Byelaws and Appoint its Officers.

A Panchayat is empowered to frame bye-laws for the conduct of its business, and to appoint such staff of officers and servants as it may consider necessary and fix the salaries or other remuneration to be paid to such staff.

THE UNITED PROVINCES

It is the duty of the Panchayat to arrange within its circle for the improvement of education, public health, and the supply of drinking water, and for the maintenance of village tracks and works of public utility.

Village Sanitation Act Applicable to Panchayat Circles.

The Local Government sometimes extends the provisions of Part I of the United Provinces Village Sanitation Act 1892 to any circle in which a Panchayat has been established.

Panchayat to Assist General Administration.

The Local Government is empowered to call upon a Panchayat to assist officers of the Government in the performance of their duties within the circle of the Panchayat and the Panchayat is to render such assistance as may be in its powers.

To Cooperate with the District Board.

It is the duty of the Panchayat to cooperate with the District Board when so required by it in carrying out the duties specified in Section 42 of the United Provinces District Boards Act, 1906.

Local Enquiry.

It is the duty of every Panchayat to inquire and report on any of the following matters :

- (a) where a Magistrate has directed that a previous local investigation be made by a Panchayat under Section 202 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898. But a Magistrate cannot direct a local investigation to be made by a Panchayat without the previous sanction of the Collector.
- (b) where a Revenue Officer has referred any matter to a Panchayat for a local inquiry, and it is lawful for any Revenue Officer not below the rank of the Assistant Collector, Second Class, with the previous sanction of the Collector, so to refer any matter in connection with any proceeding pending before him under the United Provinces Land Revenue Act, 1901, and to treat the Panchayat's report as evidence.

No Panchayat is to hold a local inquiry outside the limits of its circle.

THE PUNJAB**Compulsory Duties.**

It is the duty of the Panchayat within the limits of the fund at its disposal to make provision for carrying out the requirements of the village in respect of the following matters, namely :—

- (a) the construction, maintenance and improvement of public ways and drains.

- (b) the excavation, maintenance, improvement and disinfection of wells, ponds, and tanks for the supply of water for drinking, washing and bathing, and
- (c) the establishment and maintenance of burial and burning ghats.

But no duty is imposed and no power is conferred upon the Panchayat with respect to any matter under the direct administrative control of any department of Government or the District Board. It is the duty of the Panchayat to perform the duties of a Panchayat under the Punjab Village and Small Towns Patrol Act 1918, and such duties in connection with village watchman as the Local Government may prescribe by rules under Section 39-A of the Punjab Laws Act, 1872.

Optional Functions.

The Panchayat may, within the limits of the fund at its disposal, make provision for carrying out the requirements of the village in respect of any or all of the following matters, namely :

- (a) the lighting of public ways and places,
- (b) the planting and preservation of trees,
- (c) the construction, maintenance and improvement of buildings, or structures intended for and promoting the safety, health, welfare, and convenience of the inhabitants of the village and of travellers,
- (d) the excavation and maintenance of ponds for animals,
- (e) the relief of the poor and the sick,

- (f) the organisation and celebration of public festivals, other than religious,
 - (g) the improvement of agriculture and agriculture stock (including horses),
 - (h) the promotion and encouragement of cottage industries,
 - (i) the establishment and maintenance of libraries, and
 - (j) the voluntary registration of the sales of cattle.
- But in this connection also no duty is imposed and power conferred upon the Panchayat with respect to any matter under the direct administrative control of any department of Government or of the District Board.

Duties which may be Directed.

If directed by the Local Government it is the duty of the Panchayat to perform within the village for which it is established the following duties:—

- (a) regulating the order in which, the time at which and the extent to which persons shall take water to which they are entitled from any watercourse,
- (b) visiting and inspecting schools, recommending the school hours to be observed in summer and winter, granting casual holidays to pupils, subject to the rules of the Education Department, granting casual leave to teachers, subject to maximum of three days, twice in a year, dispersing of grants made by the District Board for the proper maintenance and ordinary repairs of such schools.

Functions which the District Board may Delegate to the Panchayat.

With such terms as may be agreed upon beforehand the District Board may delegate any of the following duties to the Panchayat :—

- (a) any matters under the direct administrative control of the District Board;
- (b) the construction, maintenance or improvement of any property under the control or management of the District Board other than property covered by Clause (a);
- (c) the control and management of Cattle-pounds;
- (d) the District Board may appoint the Panchayat to be a school attendance committee under Section 16 of the Punjab Primary Education Act, 1919.

Administrative Powers of the Panchayat.

The Panchayat has power to do all acts necessary for and incidental to the carrying out of the functions entrusted or delegated to it and in particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power :

- (a) to require by notice, giving a reasonable period, the owner or occupier of any building to remove any encroachment on a public way or drain,
- (b) to require by notice, giving a reasonable period, the owner or occupier of any land, well, water-pump or building which includes or is attached to any latrine, pool or ditch, containing or used for collection of any drainage, filth, or stagnant water which is a

nuisance to the neighbourhood to take such action as the Panchayat may deem reasonably necessary to remove the nuisance,

- (c) to regulate the collection, removal and disposal of manure and street-sweepings. But Panchayat cannot prevent any person from collecting upon land occupied by himself outside the *abadi* any manure or sweepings required for agricultural purposes,
- (d) to prohibit the use of the water of wells, ponds or other excavations suspected to be dangerous to the public health,
- (e) to regulate or prohibit the watering of cattle or bathing or washing at or near wells, ponds or other excavations reserved for drinking water,
- (f) to regulate or prohibit the steeping of hemp or any other plant or part of a plant in or near ponds or other excavations within 220 yards of the village *abadi*,
- (g) to regulate or prohibit the dyeing or tanning of skins within 220 yards of the village *abadi*. But where the dyeing or tanning of skins was so practised at the time of the establishment of the Panchayat, it shall not be prohibited unless the Panchayat provides reasonable facilities for practising it outside the 220 yards limit,
- (h) to regulate or prohibit the excavation of earth or stone or other material within 220 yards of the village *abadi*. But excavations meant to be filled by the foundations of buildings or of other structures cannot be prevented,

- (i) to regulate or prohibit the establishment of brick kilns within 220 yards of the village *abadi*,
- (j) to regulate the disposal of the carcasses of all animals dying within the village, excepting animals slaughtered for food, and
- (k) by notice to require the owner of any wall or building which is deemed by the Panchayat to be in any way dangerous, to remove or repair such wall or building but such notice must prescribe a reasonable period within which such removal or repair shall be effected.

Any person who disobeys a general regulation or special order may be fined by the Panchayat a sum not exceeding one rupee for the first offence, and not exceeding twenty-five rupees for every subsequent offence or for every week subsequent to the issue of such regulation or order during which the offence continues.

If any work required to be done is not executed within the period of the notice the Panchayat may itself cause such work to be executed and recover a sum not exceeding the cost thereof from the owner or occupier notified.

Supervision of Patwaris and Chaukidars.

On a report being made by any person that a patwari or chaukidar has failed to perform any duty imposed upon him by any law or rule, the Panchayat by notice fixing a reasonable period requires him to perform the said duty, and, on his failing to do so, reports the matter to a Revenue Officer not below the rank of a Naib-Tahsildar.

Misconduct of Petty Officials.

If a complaint is made by any person that a peon, bailiff, constable, chaukidar, patwari, or vaccinator has misconducted himself in his official capacity, the Panchayat may inquire into the matter and submit a report to the Superior Officer whom it may concern.

Powers to Veto Excise Licences.

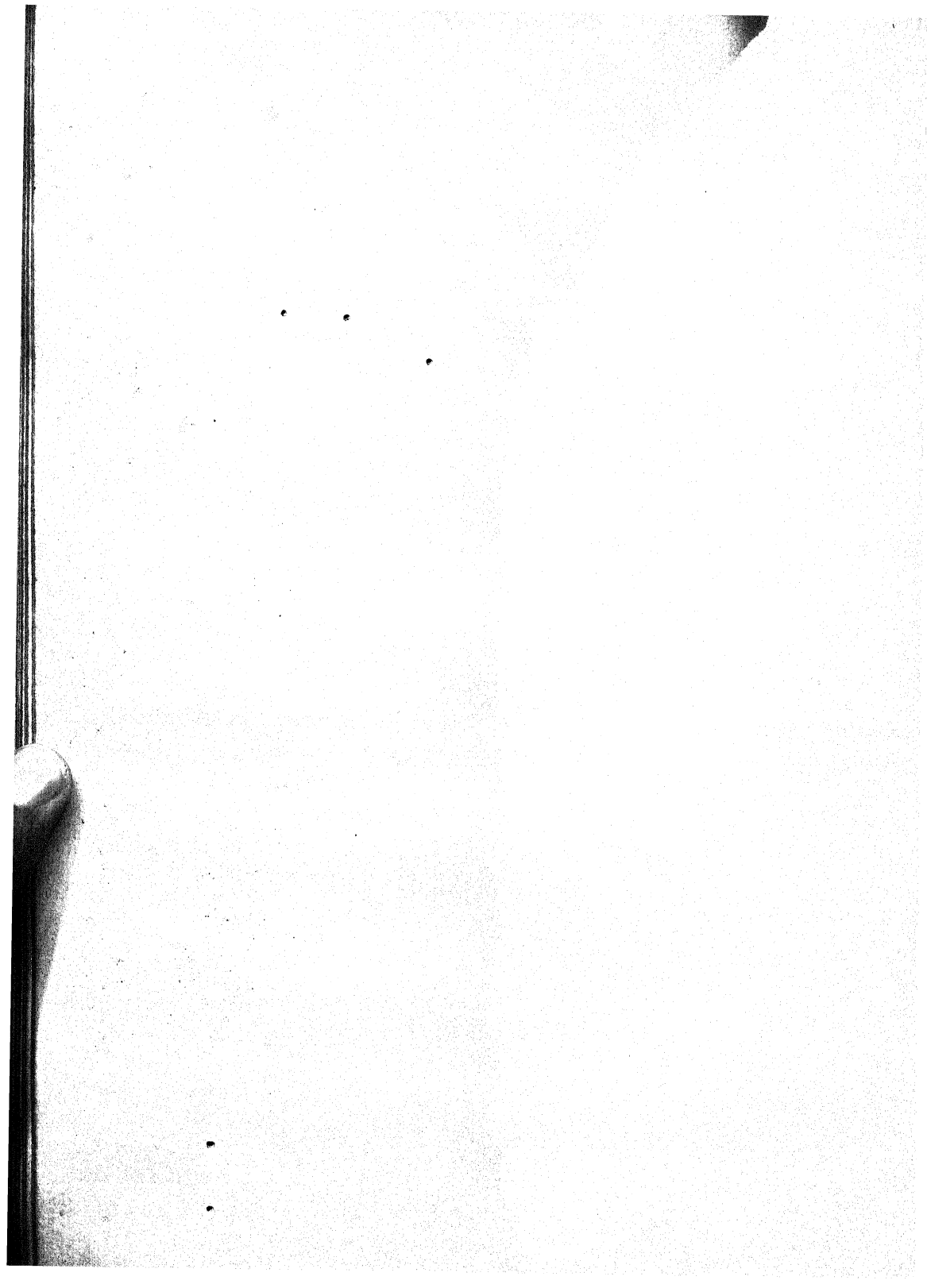
Notwithstanding any provision of the law to the contrary no licence for the sale of any excisable article within the meaning of Section 3 (B) of the Punjab Excise Act, 1914, shall be granted within any village if a Panchayat by a resolution confirmed by a two-thirds majority of adult male rate-payers of the village voting in a meeting prefers objection to the grant of the licence. But such licence, may be granted, notwithstanding such objection, if the Collector, for reasons to be recorded in writing, finds that illicit distillation within the village has been connived at by any section of the residents of the village and such finding of the Collector has effect for three years from the date thereof.

BIHAR AND ORISSA

Village Panchayats in Bihar and Orissa do not have any administrative functions and powers. They have only judicial powers.

SECTION III

HISTORY



HISTORY OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN INDIA (Circa B. C. 200 to A. D. 200)

BY

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The following pages are a résumé of the history of central and western India for about four centuries beginning with *circa* B.C. 188, the date when Pusyamitra usurped the throne of Pāṭali-putra. The period beyond B.C. 188 has been left out here, for in that age the region had no separate history of its own, it being organically connected with the dynasties of Magadha.

I am not sure whether the heading correctly defines the region under study. I have dealt with Malwa, the Central Provinces, some portion of Hyderabad, the Konkan and Gujrat, or, to use the ancient geographical expressions, Avanti, Ākara, Vidarbha, Mulaka, Aparāntā and Surāstra. A connected account of each of these localities would have been highly desirable; but the hard fact of the paucity of materials stands in our way. My aim has therefore been to bring the whole of this region under one compass and to give, as far as possible, a single history thereof.

I have refrained from entering into details about palæography and numismatics except when necessary for my immediate purpose. Details of inscriptions have likewise been eschewed, for I feel that they ought to be reserved for a separate paper.

I—THE ŚUNGAS

THE LATER MAURYAS.

Under the Nandas and the Mauryas, the history of central and western India was the history of Magadha. But after Aśoka we are no longer sure of the succession to the throne. The Purāṇas which fail us when

we need them most are widely divergent among themselves and have not much in common with other lists, e.g., the one given in the *Divyāvadāna*.¹ There is no evidence for the hypothesis that the empire was divided; and daring identifications of the princes of the different lists are of no avail. One of these princes, Samprati, is believed by the Jainas to have held Ujjayinī; but another rival tradition makes him king of Pāṭaliputra.² The truth may be that he held both. We come across petty Maurya chiefs in western India as late as the eighth century A.D.³ This shows that some branch of the Mauryas (though not necessarily connected with the imperial line) continued in that region for long. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* says that the brother-in-law of the king of Vidarbha was a minister of the last Maurya king.⁴ This conjecture is supported by the fact that the drama calls the independent Vidarbha a power of recent establishment in the reign of Puṣyamitra, and likens it to a newly-planted tree.⁵ The more southern districts might have declared their independence before Vidarbha under the Mahābhajas and Mahārathis.

Puṣyamitra, the Brāhmaṇa general of the Maurya Brhadratha, came to the throne after killing his master in c. B.C. 188. Evidently Pāṭaliputra continued to be his capital, though the *Mālavikāgnimitra* calls him the king of Vidiśā.⁶ From that drama we further know that

¹ DKA, pp. 29f; *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 433.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 282f.

⁴ *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act I, śl. 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Act I, śl. 8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Act V: 'Senāpatih Puṣyamitro Vaidiśas tatrātyam āyuṣmantam Agnimitram,' etc. This implies that Puṣyamitra was the (practically independent) governor of Vidiśā before he dealt the *coup de grâce* on the Mauryas.

he placed his son as governor of Vidiśā with a very large degree of autonomy. But it cannot be doubted that Agnimitra continued to owe allegiance to his father; for the Jaina *Paṭṭāvalis* which recount the names of the rulers of Malwa from Pālaka onwards, mention Puṣyamitra and are silent about Agnimitra.⁷

VIDARBHA.

The bye-plot of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* has many interesting facts about Agnimitra and his relations with Vidarbha. From that we know that Yajñasena, whose brother-in-law was a minister of the Mauryas, had recently declared himself independent in Vidarbha. His rival cousin Mādhavasena allied himself with Agnimitra, to whom he promised to marry his sister. But he was captured while he was proceeding to Vidiśā by the warden of the marches of Vidarbha and put to prison. Agnimitra demanded his release; but Yajñasena in return wanted the release of his brother-in-law, the minister of the Mauryas, who had evidently been imprisoned by the Śuṅgas at Pāṭaliputra. Agnimitra did not concede to this and ordered his brother-in-law Vīrasena, the officer-in-charge of the frontier-fortress (*antadurga-pāla*) on the Narmadā, to proceed against the king of Vidarbha.⁸ Evidently the objective was attained, and Vidarbha was divided between the rival candidates Yajñasena and Mādhavasena, the river Varadā (modern Wardha, a tributary of the Pen-ganga) forming the boundary. Agnimitra had the full approval of his Mantri-pariṣad in all that he did. He later on married Mālavikā, the sister of Mādhavasena.⁹

⁷ Quoted in *JBBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 149; *IA*, 1873, p. 363; *Acta Orientalia*, 1923, p. 33.

⁸ *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act I.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Act VI.

Some important conclusions may be drawn from this story. We are informed that the Narmadā formed the boundary of the Śuṅga empire. We are also led to suspect an alliance between the Mauryas and the chief of Vidarbha, whose brother-in-law was a minister of the Mauryas. It is possible that the alliance might have been the result of the fear of the Vidarbha king of an aggression from Puṣyamitra, who might have been the governor at Vidiśā under Brhadratha Maurya.¹⁰ It is also possible as Raychaudhuri thinks, that in the Maurya court there were two parties or factions, one headed by the king's minister and the other by his general. The minister's partisan was appointed governor of Vidarbha, while the general's son Agnimitra got the viceroyalty of Vidiśā. When the general organised his *coup d'état*, killed the king and imprisoned the minister, Yajñasena apparently declared his independence and commenced hostilities with the usurping family.¹¹ Ultimately the Śuṅgas scored victory over Vidarbha, but it may be assumed that Yajñasena and Mādhavasena, who were set there as governors, declared their independence in no time. Rapson's conjecture that the Śuṅga incursion into Vidarbha brought them into collision with the Andhras¹² has no basis as the Sātavāhana power was non-existent at this time.

DEMETRIUS.

Another important event in the reign of Puṣyamitra is the Greek invasion under Demetrius, which has been dated c. B.C. 175.¹³ He invested, we are told in a

¹⁰ See *supra*, n. 6.

¹¹ PHAI, pp. 236f.

¹² *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 519.

¹³ CII, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. xv.

famous passage of the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, Ayodhyā and Madhyamikā.¹⁴ The two cities are mentioned by Patañjali only as an illustration and must not be taken to mark the farthest advance of Demetrius. Indeed, the *Gārgī-saṃhitā*, the account of which is usually referred to this period, would have us believe that 'Pāncāla, Mathurā and Kusumadhvaja (Pāṭaliputra) also felt the steel of the Greeks.¹⁵ The *Mālavikāgnimitra*, however, does not testify to the Greek occupation of Pāṭaliputra. According to it, Puṣyamitra's sacrificial horse was claimed by the Greeks on the southern bank of the river Sindhu; but Vasumitra, the grandson of the emperor, defeated them and rescued the horse.¹⁶ This Sindhu is certainly not the Indus, as the Panjab had thrown off the Magadhan yoke about the quarter of a century ago under Subhāgasena.¹⁷ The river in question is therefore either the Kali Sindhu, the tributary of the Chambal, or the Sindh, a tributary of the Jumna.

Excavations at Besnagar have brought to light a sealing with the inscription, 'Of the donor Ṭimitra, accompanied by the Hotā, Potā, kinsmen and. . .'¹⁸ The use of the sacrificial terms indicates that Ṭimitra (evidently a Demetrius) performed a sacrifice. Whether this Demetrius should be identified with the invader of that name is a question of opinion. As there is no indication of any break in Agnimitra's rule at Vidiśā (of which Besnagar probably marks the site), the better opinion is to regard the Demetrius of the seal as a private individual.

¹⁴ *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, on Pāṇini, III, ii, 111, ed. Kielhorn, Vol. II, p. 119; also Vol. III, p. 8.

¹⁵ For test, see *JBORS*, 1928, p. 402.

¹⁶ *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V.

¹⁷ McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, p. 109.

¹⁸ *ASI-AR*, 1914-15, pp. 77f.

MENANDER.

In this connection may also be mentioned the invasion of Menander, who is no longer regarded as a contemporary of Puṣyamitra,¹⁹ though his date still remains uncertain. From his capital at Sialkot, he seems to have penetrated far into India, both to the east and to the south.²⁰ The author of the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, writing in the third or fourth quarter of the first century after Christ, remarks that 'to the present day ancient drachmæ are current in Barygaza (Bharoch), coming from this country, bearing inscriptions in Greek letters and the devices of those who reigned after Alexander, Apollodotus and Menander.'²¹ This may explain the existence of some Yavana colonies in western India, one of them being at Dhenukākaṭa; for many Buddhists calling themselves Yavanas made various gifts at Karle and Junnar in the first centuries before and after Christ.²²

INSCRIPTIONS.

The Śuṅga rule in central India has been for ever memorialized by a votive label on the gateway of the Bharhut stūpa, erected 'in the reign of the Śuṅgas.' The inscription gives the genealogy of a subordinate line of governors or chiefs beginning with Rājan Gārgīputra Viśvadeva. His son, who is mentioned without any distinctive title, was Gotiputra Agrarāju (Gaup-tīputra Agrarāja?); his son was Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti.²³

¹⁹ *PHAI*, pp. 242f; *CII*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. xv.

²⁰ McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, p. 100.

²¹ *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, tr. Schoff, pp. 41f.

²² *List*, Nos. 1093, 1096, 1154, 1156, 1182; also *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 339f.

²³ Barua and Sinha, *Bharhut Inscriptions*, No. 1.

This genealogy is carried further down by another inscription where Dhanabhūti is called a Rājan and his son Kumāra Vādhapāla.²⁴ We have a further evidence of the continuation of Śuṅga rule in central India in the famous Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodoros.²⁵ That inscription, believed to have been inscribed in the fourteenth year²⁶ of Mahārāja Kāśī (?).putra²⁷ Bhāgabhadra records the erection of a garuḍa-dhvaja by Heliodoros, the Greek ambassador to the court of Bhāgabhadra from Antialkidas, the Greek king of the north-west. Another mutilated inscription mentions King Bhāgavata, in the twelfth year of whose reign another *garuḍa-dhvaja* was erected.²⁸ Venis and Chanda take the word Bhāgavata to mean a worshipper of Bhagavat.²⁹ But this does not seem to be probable, for no one would date his inscription in the reign of a worshipper of Bhagavat without mentioning his proper name. Bhāgavata must be regarded as the name of the reigning monarch and be identified with the ninth Śuṅga king.³⁰

²⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 103.

²⁵ *List*, No. 669. Also Venis, *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 813f; Fleet, *Ibid.*, pp. 815 f; Vogel, *ASI-AR*, 1908-9, pp. 126 f; Sukthankar, *ABl*, Vol. I, pp. 59 f.

²⁶ It cannot be held that the reading *vasena catudasena* (1. 7) is final. What has been usually taken to be *ca* appears to be a *ma*; besides there seems to exist no trace of any *u*-mark on either leg of *ta*.

²⁷ 'Kāśīputra' has been taken to mean 'the son of the princess of Kāśī'. But the custom of this age was to mention the mother by her *gotra* and not by the place where her father lived. Bloch and Marshall read *Kosiputa* (=Skt. Kautsīputra) in place of *Kāśīputa*, and this need not be hastily rejected. (*JRAS*, 1909, p. 1055 and *ZDMG*, 63ster Band, p. 589).

²⁸ Venis, *JBBRAS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 144; Bhandarkar, *ASI-AR*, 1913-14, p. 190.

²⁹ *JBBRAS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 144; *MASI*, No. 5, 1920, p. 152.

³⁰ Cf. Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 11n; *PHAI*, p. 252. *

These two Besnagar inscriptions thus reveal the name of two distinct kings, Bhāgabhadra and Bhāgavata, and there is no possibility of identifying the two. As Bhāgavata is the ninth king of the Purāṇas, Bhāgabhadra must be regarded as the fifth Śuṅga king, whose name is variously spelt in the Purāṇas as Bhadraka, Ādraka, Andhaka, Antaka, etc.³¹. This entirely agrees with the dates usually assigned to Antialkidas³² whose contemporary Bhāgabhadra was. If Bhāgabhadra be the name of fifth Śuṅga king we may reject Jayaswal's hypothesis³³ that he was the same person as Udāka, in the tenth year of whose reign Aśādhasena, the maternal uncle of Bahasatimitra, erected a cave at Pabhosa.³⁴

JAINA CHRONOLOGY.

According to the chronology of the Jaina *Paṭṭāvalis*, Pusyamitra ruled for thirty years and Balamitra and Bhānumitra for thirty years.³⁵ Jinasena substitutes Vasumitra and Agnimitra in place of Balamitra and Bhānumitra.³⁶ This is more reasonable, for to place Balamitra and Bhānumitra after Pusyamitra is an absurdity in view of the definite evidence of the *Kālakācāryakathānaka* that they were contemporaries of Vikramāditya.³⁷ All that the Jaina traditions show is that the Śuṅga rule in Malwa lasted for ninety years, i.e., till B.C. 98, which must have fallen after the twelfth year of Bhāgavata.

³¹ *DKA*, p. 31.

³² Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 238; Gardner, *Catalogue of Coins of Greek and Scythian Kings*, p. xxxiii.

³³ *JBORS*, 1917, pp. 473 f.

³⁴ *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 242 f.

³⁵ For references, see *supra*, n. 7.

³⁶ Quoted in *IA*, 1917, p. 147.

³⁷ *ZDMG*, 34ster Band, p. 267; cf. Pādalipta-prabandha and Vṛddhavādi-prabandha in *Prabhāvakacarita*, ed. Nirṇayasāgara Press.

KĀNVAS.

The foregoing paragraphs will have demonstrated that Malwa was under Agnimitra, the second, Bhāgabhadra, the fifth, and Bhāgavata, the ninth king of the Śuṅga dynasty. The tenth king, the young and over-libidinous Devabhūti, was killed by his minister, Vāsudeva the Kāṇva, who usurped the throne of Pāṭaliputra.³⁸ But he had to be contented with a greatly attenuated kingdom. The rise of the new Mitras, who might have been connected with the Śuṅgas, was a serious menace to the Kāṇva power. Coins bearing the names of Mitra kings have been found in Oudh and Rohilkhand, and at Kosam, Bhita and Gayā.³⁹ One of these kings, Bhasatimitra, became powerful enough to come to the throne of Magadha and possessed Gayā, Kauśāmbī and Pañcāla. Another Mitra king was Mahārāja Viśvamitra-svāmin, whose seal has been found at Besnagar.⁴⁰ This king must be placed immediately after the date of the destruction of the Śuṅgas; it is possible that he dispossessed the last Śuṅga king from Vidiśā. But his dynasty does not seem to have gained a firm footing in Malwa, which passed off to other kings in no time.

ŚISUNANDI.

In their description of the dynasties of Vidiśā, the Purāṇas say that after the destruction of the Śuṅgas, Śisunandi, his younger brother Nandiyaśas and three others became rulers of Vidiśā. His daughter's son

³⁸ DKA, p. 33; *Harṣacarita*, ed. Führer, p. 269.

³⁹ Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 69, etc; Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 146, 184f; Rapson, *Indian Coins* (Grundiss Series), p. 12; *ASI-AR*, 1911-12, pp. 62 f.

⁴⁰ *ASI-AR*, 1914-15, p. 81.

Śisuka became king of Purikā (at some unspecified time).⁴¹ It is to be marked that Śisuka is a common mis-spelling of the Purāṇas for Simuka, the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty.⁴² It is tempting to identify the two kings and to conclude with Raychaudhuri that after overthrowing the Śuṅgas, Simuka annexed Purikā and placed Vidiśā under his maternal relations,—a conjecture that is entirely in accordance, with the date of the origin of the Sātavāhanas which we get from other sources.⁴³ The defeated Śuṅga prince may have been Viśvamitra of the Besnagar seal. An inscription found at Pawaya is dated in the fourth year of Rājan Svāmi-Śivanandi,⁴⁴ who may be identical with the Śisunandi of the Purāṇas.

⁴¹ *DKA*, p. 49.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁴³ *PHAI*, p. 254.

⁴⁴ *ASI-AR*, 1915-16, p. 106.

II—THE EARLY SĀTAVĀHANAS

The first century B.C. was very eventful in the history of central and western India, indeed so crowded with events that it is not always possible to follow their course. It witnessed the rise of the Sātavāhanas, the empires of Sātakarṇi and Śūdraka and the conquests of Khāravela and Vikramāditya.

HABITAT.

To begin with the Sātavāhanas. Their original habitat has been much discussed. The Purāṇas call the dynasty the Āndhra.¹ On this basis attempts were made to place their capital at Dhanakaṭaka or Sri Kakulam on the eastern coast. In 1913, P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar tried to prove that the Āndhras were associated with the Telugu region only at a very late date, the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, the inscriptions of Aśoka and the *Harṣacarita* placing them in the Vindhya region. Besides, he pointed out that all the early coins and inscriptions of the early 'Āndhra' kings are to be found in the western portion of India and not in the eastern. And Khāravela in his inscription (l. 3) refers to Sātakarṇi as a ruler of the west. The language of their inscription is Prakrit and not any Dravidian dialect. He therefore concluded that the Āndhras were a Vindhyan tribe, ruling in western India and that the name Āndhra migrated from the west to the east and not *vice versa*, as is generally believed.²

The arguments based on coins and inscriptions are unimpeachable, and it must be taken as an accepted fact

¹ Some historians call it the Āndhra-bhṛtya dynasty which is clearly distinguished from the Āndhra dynasty in the Purāṇas. *DKA*, p. 45.

² *IA*, 1913, pp. 276 f.

that save a few later members of the dynasty no king ruled in the eastern coast. But it does not appear that Aiyangar has been entirely successful in proving that the ancient Āndhras were inhabitants of the Vindhya region, for the statements of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, the inscriptions of Aśoka and the *Harṣacarita* are far from definite. On the contrary the *Mahābhārata*³ and the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁴ place them where we find them in later times, and so do Varāhamihira⁵ and Yuan Chwang.⁶ Besides, legends always make Pratiṣṭhāna the capital of the Sātavāhanas.⁷ We must therefore get over the myth that the Sātavāhanas were Āndhras. Such statements as 'the name of the Andhra dynasty that came to power in 75 B.C. is Sātavāhana'⁸ have no meaning, as there is no evidence that the early Sātavāhanas were in any way connected with the Āndhra region.

On these grounds V. S. Sukthankar rejects the location of the Āndhras proposed by Aiyangar and insists that the Bellary district was the original home of the Sātavāhanas; for the Myakadoni inscription of Pulumāvi places a Sātavāhanihāra in that district,⁹ and the Hira-hadagalli inscription of Śivaskāndavarman the Pallava mentions a Sātāhani-raṭṭha¹⁰ (the kingdom of the Sātavāhanas), of which the Sātavāhanihāra (the district of the Sātavāhanas) evidently formed a part. Regarding the origin of the name Āndhra, he suggests that 'it is

³ *Mahābhārata*, ed. Krishna Sastri, II, xxxi, 71.

⁴ *Rāmāyaṇa*, ed. Nirṇayasāgara Press, IV, xli, 12.

⁵ *Brhatsaṃhitā*, xiv, 8.

⁶ Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 217 f.

⁷ *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, pp. 127 f; also *KSS.*, VI, 22 f.

⁸ Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1918, p. 71.

⁹ *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 153 f.

¹⁰ *List*, No. 1200.

quite probable . . . that the correct designation of the dynasty is really Āndhrabhṛtya (which was later wrongly abbreviated by some of the Purāṇas into Āndhra), a germ of genuine history being preserved in the appellation that the founders of the Sātavāhana dynasty were originally vassals of the Āndhra sovereigns, of whom it may be with assurance be affirmed that at or about the time of the rise of the Sātavāhanas they were the most powerful potentates in the Deccan.¹¹

This view, though put very forcibly, is not acceptable in some details. It definitely establishes that the Sātavāhanas were not Āndhras; but the conjecture that they were originally the feudatories of the Āndhras is not plausible, as the reading 'Āndhrabhṛtya' is not sufficiently warranted in the Purāṇas. For this reason, T. K. Subramanian suggests that the Purāṇas mistook the Sātavāhanas for Āndhras, as the Sātavāhanas were ruling over the Āndhra region when the Purāṇic genealogies were composed.¹² This suggestion is a 'very happy explanation of the Purāṇic anomaly' as Sukthankar himself admits.¹³ As regards Sukthankar's suggestion about the original home of the Sātavāhanas, Bellary appears to be too southern a district to be the proper place; besides, as Subramanian points out, Bellary probably marks one of the points in the eastern migration of the Sātavāhanas.

SIMUKA.

The rise of the Sātavāhanas as a political power may be dated B.C. 100 in round figures.¹⁴ The Purāṇas say that Simuka destroyed the Kāṇvas and whatever was

¹¹ *ABI*, Vol. I, pp. 21 f.

¹² *QJMS*, Vol. XIII, pp. 591 f.

¹³ *JBBRAS*, Vol. I, N. S., pp. 160 f.

¹⁴ See Appendix A.

left of the Śuṅgas.¹⁵ We have seen that the Sātavāhanas probably uprooted the Śuṅgas in central India ; a later member of the dynasty might have defeated the Kāṇvas. It is not possible to give a more satisfactory explanation of the Purāṇic statement, for Simuka could not have destroyed the Kāṇvas in c. B.C. 31. R. G. Bhandarkar tried to explain away the difficulty by assuming that the Kāṇvas and the later Śuṅgas ruled conjointly and Simuka destroyed both c. B.C. 75.¹⁶ But this cannot be accepted in view of the unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas and the *Harṣacarita* that Devabhūti or Devabhūmi, the last Śuṅga was deposed by Vāsudeva, the first Kāṇva. There is no doubt that in the south Simuka carved out his empire at the expense of the Mahābhōjas and Mahārāṭhis, the Bhōjas and Rāṣṭrikas of the inscriptions of Aśoka, and made them his feudatories.¹⁷ He also married his son to Nāyanikā, the daughter of the Mahārāṭhi Traṇakariya Kaṭalāya of the Ambhiya family.¹⁸

Nothing more is known about Simuka. If he be the same as Śisuka who is mentioned in the Purāṇas as the daughter's son of Śivanandi of Vidiśā, then it may be assumed that Vidiśā was conquered by him from the Śuṅgas and was placed by him under his maternal grandfather. In the Nanaghat cave there is an image bearing an inscription of his name.¹⁹

KRṢṆA.

His successor was his brother Krṣṇa, whose name is omitted in many manuscripts of the Purāṇas. This may raise the presumption that he established a rival dynasty;

¹⁵ DKA, p. 38.

¹⁶ EHD, pp. 53 f; IA, 1920, pp. 30 f.

¹⁷ Cf. List, No. 1100.

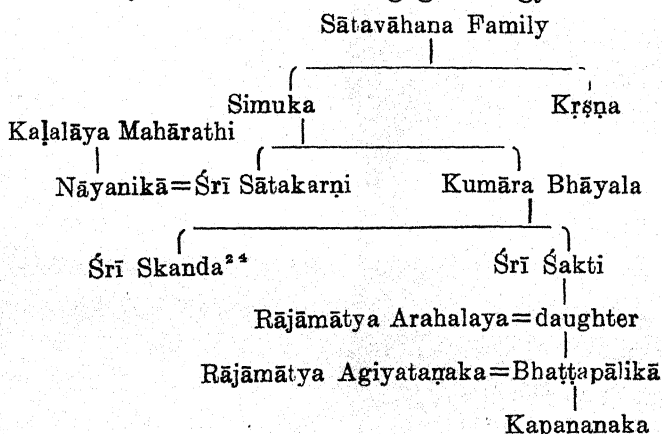
¹⁸ Ibid., Nos. 1112 and 1117; JRAS, 1903, pp. 296 f.

¹⁹ List, No. 1113.

that, however, is not possible, as his Nasik inscription²⁰ shows that he ruled over the same region as his elder brother.

SĀTAKARṆI.

The next king was Sātakarṇi, the son of Kṛṣṇa according to the Purāṇas and of Simuka according to the Nanaghat inscriptions. At Sanchi an inscription of the foreman of his artisans, Vāsiṣṭhiputra Ānanda, has been found on the southern gateway of the stūpa.²¹ A combined study of the Nanaghat inscription and the Nasik inscription No. 19²² yields the following genealogy:²³



Bühler identified with much plausibility Śrī Śakti of the above list with Śaktikumāra of the Jaina legends, wherein he is called 'the son of Sātavāhana.'²⁵ If that

²⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 1144.

²¹ *Ibid.*, No. 346. Rapson's proposed correction to make Vāsiṣṭhiputra an adjective to Sātakarṇi (*Cat.*, p. xlvii) is unnecessary and daring.

²² *List*, No. 1141.

²³ We owe this primarily to Bühler, *ASWI*, Vol. V, p. 68.

²⁴ The inscription has 'Khandasiri'. For the inverted position of 'sri', cf. *List*, No. 1113; also 11, 14 and 17 of the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela.

²⁵ *ASWI*, Vol. V, p. 68.

be true, then Sātakarṇi I turns out to be the Sātavāhana of the legends.

SKANDA AND ŚAKTI.

It will be marked that according to the latest reading of the Nanaghat inscription by Krishna Sastri, which does not seem to have attracted much attention, the word read by Bühler as 'Vedisiri' has now to be read as Khandasiri (=Skt. Śrī Skhanda).²⁶ This Skanda, during whose minority his mother Nāyanikā was governing, is doubtlessly the same as Skandastambhi, the fifth king of the Purāṇic list. This also gives rise to the conjecture that Sātakarṇi II, the sixth king, is the same as Śakti. As we shall see presently, in the *Avantisundarikathā* he is called Svāti. The Purāṇas may be wrong in Sanskritizing his name as Sātakarṇi.

KHĀRAVELA.

From the Hathigumpha inscription of King Khāra-vela of Kalinga (l. 4), we know that that king sent an army to the west without paying heed to Sātakarṇi. This Sātakarṇi can only be Sātakarṇi I. We shall have once more to revert to the date of Khāra-vela and other connected problems.

For more than 150 years (c. B.C. 40 to A.D. 124) we know nothing about the history of central and western India. The Purāṇas go on mentioning one king after another, but the list is of little avail as it cannot be verified from any other source. One of such kings was Hāla, the reputed author of the *Gāthāsaptasatī*. There is no reason why the work should not be ascribed to him or his court-poet Śrīpālita,²⁷ for attempts to place it in the sixth

²⁶ ASI-AR, 1923-24, p. 88.

²⁷ *Rāmacarita* of Abhinanda, end of Ch. 32.

century A.D. do not appear to be successful.²⁸ According to one MS. of the *Saptaśatī*, Hāla had the surname of Satakarnā.²⁹

SUNDARA.

Another king, the twentieth of the Purāṇas, was Sundara Sātakarnī, mentioned as Sandanes in the Periplus, who obstructed Greek trade in the city of Kalyāṇa.³⁰ According to Jayaswal the correct name of the king was Sunandana, which is quite probable.³¹

ŚŪDRAKA.

We know from various sources that Śūdraka was the contemporary of Sātavāhana, i.e., Sātakarnī I. Attempts to identify him with Simuka or Vikramāditya³² have failed, as tradition has always distinguished among the three. From the *Caturvīṃśatiprabandha* of Rājaśekhara we know that Śūdraka was a minister of Sātavāhana (i.e., Sātakarnī I) who was pleased with Śūdraka's feats and invested him with royal authority.³³ From the story of his life given in the *Avantisundarikathāsāra* we know that Śūdraka-Indrāṇigupta, a Brāhmaṇa of the Aśmaka country, was brought up with Svāti, the royal prince, and there arose an enmity between them out of their boyish pranks. Śūdraka passed through many adventures and ultimately defeated and imprisoned Svāti.³⁴ It requires

²⁸ Weber, *Über das Saptaśatakam des Hāla*, etc.

²⁹ Peterson, *Third Report of the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 349.

³⁰ *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, tr. Schoff, p. 43.

³¹ JBORS, 1932, pp. 7 f.

³² *Mṛcchakatika*, ed. Raddi and Paranjape, Introduction, pp. 2 f; *Avantisundarikathā*, Introduction by Kavi, pp. 7 f.

³³ JBBRAS, Vol. X, p. 133.

³⁴ *Avantisundarikathāsāra*, iv, 175 f.

no imagination to see that Svāti is the wrong Sanskritization of Sati or Sāti, the Prakrit form of the name of Śaktikumāra, the son of Sātakarṇi I. The *Caturvīṃśatiprabhandha* has it that after Śaktikumāra nobody entered Pratiṣṭhāna.

The *Avāntisundarikathā* ascribes to Śūdraka a long reign of about a hundred years. The *Mṛcchakaṭika* further adds that he was a poet, that he performed an *aśvamedha* and that he threw himself into fire after a life of a hundred years and ten days.³⁵ We are not sure whether Śūdraka instituted a different sacrifice or was simply associated with his master who is credited with many inscriptions in a Nanaghat inscription.³⁶ As a poet Śūdraka is said to have composed the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the *Padmaprābhṛtaka* and also an autobiography. It is possible that all these were the compositions of his court-poets, for Rājaśekhara informs us that Rāmila and Saumilla were the joint authors of a Śūdraka-kathā.³⁷ Saumilla is 'most probably the dramatist referred to by Kālidāsa as one of his illustrious predecessors in the prologue to his *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

According to the *Harṣacarita*, Śūdraka killed the lord of the Cakoras,³⁸ who need not be the same as Cakora Sātakarṇi of the Purāṇas. Kṣīrasvāmin, commenting on Amara (II, viii, 2) mentions the name of Śūdraka in the list of universal monarchs. The opening sentence of the *Kādambarī* and the *Parīśiṣṭa* of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* make Vidiśā the capital of Śūdraka. We may accept this statement provisionally.

³⁵ *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Act I, śl. 4.

³⁶ *List*, No. 1112.

³⁷ *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVII, p. 59.

³⁸ *Harṣacarita*, ed. Führer, p. 270.

III—VIKRAMADITYA

GARDABHILLA.

Let us now turn to central India where singular events were taking place. We have seen that Vidiśā was snatched away from the Śuṅgas by Simuka and that it continued to be under the Sātavāhanas at least till the time of Sātakarṇi I. But Avanti or western Malwa does not seem to have come under their sway, as the Jaina *Paṭṭāvalis* give no indication to that effect. According to them, seventeen years before Vikramāditya, i.e., in B.C. 74, Malwa came under Gardabhilla, who abducted the sister of Kālākācārya-sūri.¹ As his name indicates, he might have been a Bhilla chief and this may explain the lack of sympathy of the Jainas towards him.²

The story of Kālaka says that Gardabhilla offended the Sūri by his indiscreet behaviour to Sarasvatī, the sister of the saint. Determined to take revenge, Kālaka went to the north and reached Śaka-kula, where the Śāhis were ruling. Kālaka induced their chief, the Śāhānuṣāhi, to proceed to Malwa and oust Gardabhilla. The Sakas entered into the heart of India through Surāṣṭra, dethroned Gardabhilla, and established themselves at Ujjayinī. The foreign occupation of Malwa, however, was short-lived, lasting only for four years, according to the *Paṭṭāvalis*, after which they were driven out by Vikramāditya Śakāri.

¹ For the story of Kālaka, see *ZDMG*, 34ster Band, pp. 258ff. There are other versions of the story mainly agreeing with one another. See *Kālākāsūri-prabandha* in *Prābhāvakacarita*, ed. Nirṇayasāgara Press, also *Kālākācāryakathā*, Appendix to *Kalpa-sūtra*, ed. Jaina-Pustakoddhāra Series, No. 16.

² A quaint sort of hero-worship leads Jayaswal to find in the name of Gardabhilla a reference to Khāravela, a supposed descendant of the famous King of Orissa (*JBORS*, 1930, pp. 306 f.).

The willingness of scholars to utilize the story of Kālaka for historical purposes is of recent origin. Scepticism regarding its authenticity led former scholars to propound fanciful views about the origin of the Vikrama era and to call Candragupta II the Vikramāditya of the traditions. That tendency has fortunately changed.³ Sten Konow, for instance, does not 'see the slightest reason for discrediting this account, as is usually done, because most scholars are *a priori* disinclined to believe in Indian tradition and sometimes prefer the most marvellous accounts of foreign authors to Indian lore. Almost every detail can be verified from other sources.'⁴ The story does away with many problems of Indian history and gives a satisfactory explanation of the origin of the Vikrama era.

VIKRAMĀDITYA.

Vikramāditya's name is associated with so many legends that it is well-nigh impossible to extract history out of them. We do not know much about his ancestry. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* gives his father's name as Mahendrāditya,⁵ while Abul Fazl has it as Gandharb which may be a corruption of Gardabhilla. Attempts to identify him with this or that Sātavāhana king are bound to be abortive, as tradition has always distinguished Vikramāditya from the Sātavāhanas. Vikramāditya, therefore, like Candra, Yaśodharman and Śaśāṅka of a later age, remains a historical enigma, about whose ancestors and successors nothing is known.

The conquest of Ujjayinī from the Śakas was not the only achievement of Vikramāditya, for tradition has always cherished his name as a universal monarch. The

³ But see D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1932, p. 101.

⁴ *CII*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. xxvii.

⁵ *Kss*, xxx.

⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr. Jarret, Vol. II, p. 210.

Kalpaprādīpu of Jinaprabhasūri preserves the echo of an encounter between him and the Sātavāhana (Sātakarṇi I) of Pratiṣṭhāna, resulting in the ultimate defeat of the former.⁷ With Kalinga Vikramāditya's relations may have been specially strained. According to the scheme of chronology followed here, the king could well have been Khāravela.⁸

Among the princes paying homage to Vikramāditya, the *Kathāsaritsāgara* mentions one Śaktikumāra, the king of Gauḍa.⁹ It is possible that this Śaktikumāra was the son of Sātakarṇi I and that the *Kathāsaritsāgara* is wrong in calling him a king of Gauḍa.

VIKRAMA ERA.

The era of Vikrama was long associated with the Mālavas, as is revealed by some inscriptions of the fifth century A.D. The passages containing the date in these inscriptions have been much discussed and the best view seems to be that the Mālavas had nothing to do with the establishment of the era, nor the era with the establishment of the Mālava republic or constitution, but that the Mālavas had a peculiar system of reckoning the era.¹⁰ It is very difficult to explain why it was not named after Vikrama till the ninth century. Shembhavnekar suggests

⁷ *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 133.

⁸ *Kss*, cxiii, 139 f. K. Chattopādhyāya in his paper on the 'Date of Kālidāsa' (*Allahabad University Studies*, Vol. II, p. 118) suspects in Raghuvamśa, vi, 54, 'an indirect allusion to the Mahāmeghavāhana (= Mahendra) dynasty to which Khāravela belonged. In *kṣarat* of the third hemistich there may be a further reference to Khāravela. For Jayaswal's Sanskritization of the king's name into Kṣāravela (*JBORS*, 1918, p. 403) is no less probable than the many others suggested by Barua (*Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, pp. 267 and xxi).

⁹ *Kss*, cxxii, 3.

¹⁰ K. M. Shembhavnekar, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. X, pp. 143 f.

the following reasons: in many cases the mention of the name of Vikrama was not allowed by the metre; there was a conflict of various eras in India in the early centuries after Christ and until the conflict ended in the supremacy of the one and the abolition of others, writers and inscribers expressed themselves in general phrases in so far as the reckoning of the years is concerned; finally court-poets could not offend their sovereigns by mentioning Vikramāditya by name. None of these arguments is cogent, and because they apply with equal force to all other eras, they fail to explain why the Vikrama era only suffered this peculiar fate.

The Kankali Tila inscription of the Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa, a northern satrap, is dated in the year 72. Sten Konow believes that this era is distinct from the older Śaka era, in the year 78 of which Śoḍāsa was only a prince. According to him therefore the Kankali Tila record must be referred to the Vikrama era by about thirty years.¹¹ One naturally hesitates to accept this solitary use of the Vikrama era at such an early date. Rapson read 42 instead of 72, and Fleet removed the difficulty by assuming two different kings of the same name.¹² The point may be regarded as undecided.

According to the *Paṭṭāvalis* Vikramāditya ruled for sixty years and his four successors, Dharmāditya, Bhāilla, Nāilla and Dāhada for seventy-five years. In view of the fact that the *Paṭṭāvalis* never invent false names, these four kings may have been real figures. The *Kālakācārya-kathānaka* further adds that Vikramāditya and his descendants ruled for 135 years, i.e., till A.D. 78, when the Śakas reconquered Malwa.

¹¹ *Est.*, Nos. 59 and 82; *CII*, Vol. II. Pt. I, p. xxxiv.

¹² Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 575; Fleet, *JRAS.*, 1907, p. 1035.

IV—THE KṢAHARĀTAS

BHŪMAKA.

In A.D. 78 the Śakas again penetrated into central India, this time probably through the direct route. The first king was Bhūmaka, who is called Kṣaharāta on his coins. We shall see later on that the Śaka era began from his reign. According to Sten Konow, Bhūmaka was identical with Ysāmotika, the father of Caṣṭana, because the Śaka word *Ysama* means 'earth' (*bhūmi* in Sanskrit).⁴ The suggestion cannot be accepted because from the inscriptions of his successors Ysāmotika appears to have never ruled.

Bhūmaka appears to have had a very short rule. On his coins he also calls himself a Kṣatrapa. This indicates that he was the satrap of a northern power, evidently Kadphises I or II.

NAHAPĀNA.

Bhūmaka does not seem to have come into contact with the Sātavāhanas. But his successor Nahapāna who came to the throne in c. A.D. 85 had a very wide empire. Inscriptions of his minister Ayama and his son-in-law Rṣabhadatta Śaka have been found at Junnar, Karle and Nasik, which show that he snatched away from the Sātavāhanas much of the territories that had belonged to them from the beginning of their history.² The Nasik inscription No. 10 gives some details of the exploits of his son-in-law: we are told therein that he released the Uttamabhādras who had been besieged by the Mālayas; the Uttamabhādras then made the Mālayas their prisoners.³ The Mālayas were probably the Mālavas of the

¹ *CII*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. lxx.

² *List*, Nos. 1174, 1074, 1131, 1133, 1134, 1135.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 1131.

'Mālavānām jaya' coins of Rajputana.⁴ The inscription further mentions some holy places to which he repaired and which were obviously under his father-in-law: Prabhāsa (in Gujrat), Bhrgukaccha (Bharoch), Daśapura (Mandasor), Govardhana (Nasik) and Śūrpāraka (Sopara). This fixes the extent of the territories of Nahapāna: it embraced Konkan, Nasik, Guirat, western Malwa and Ajmer. It has often been said that these provinces were assigned to Rṣabhadatta, and that the rest of the empire was directly ruled by Nahapāna.⁵ But these very provinces constituted the empire of Nahapāna, and had they been all under Rṣabhadatta, there would have been no room left for Nahapāna to rule. Rṣabhadatta need not have been the viceroy of his father-in-law, but some other high dignitary of the state, possibly the general.⁶

CAPITAL.

We are not sure what city was the capital of Nahapāna. R. G. Bhandarkar proposed that it was Junnar, for we have here the inscription of his minister Ayama.⁷ D. R. Bhandarkar, however, prefers Mandasor on the basis of the latitude and longitude of Minnagara as given by Ptolemy.⁸ According to Bakhle, Junnar seems to have a better claim.⁹ Jayaswal's proposal to place the capital at Bhrgukaccha¹⁰ is not a *prima facie* impossibility.

⁴ Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pp. 12 f; Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 162, etc.

⁵ E.g., Bakhle, *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, N. S., p. 64.

⁶ *Cf. List*, No. 1131.

⁷ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, Pt. II, p. 160.

⁸ *IA*, 1918, p. 78.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1926, pp. 145 f.

¹⁰ *JBORS*, 1930, pp. 145 f.

FAMILY.

According to the testimony of coins and inscriptions, Bhūmaka and Nahapāna were Kṣaharātas (also Chaharāta). The word seems to be the same as that appearing on the Taxila plate of Patika and some other inscriptions of the Northern Satraps. Regarding its meaning Sten Konow observes that 'it is possible that the Kṣaharātas were a Śaka family or clan, but the word might denote also a charge or a dignity.'¹¹ The latter alternative seems to gain strength from the fact that Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi, a later Sātavāhana prince, seems to have borne this title. According to Oldenberg, 'Kṣaharāta looks very much like a hybrid compound of Persian and Sanskrit: he who has been given (*rāta*) to the people by the Shah (*Kṣaha*). . . . A name like this in a loyal satrapal family need not be thought strange.'¹² Thus the connection of Bhūmaka with that of the Northern Satraps becomes doubtful to a great degree.

The name Nahapāna 'is a good old Persian name.'¹³ But as the Śakas adopted Indian names, they could have adopted Persian names as well. Nahapāna might have been a Śaka as his son-in-law certainly was, and this explains why the era of A.D. 78 is called the Śaka era.

The inscriptions tell us that the daughter of Nahapāna married to Rṣabhadatta, the son of Dinika, was Daksamitrā. According to the Karle inscription No. 11, Rṣabhadatta's son was Mitradevanaka, who made the gift of a pillar in a Karle cave.¹⁴ D. R. Bhandarkar

¹¹ *CII*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 25; Nos. XIII, XV, etc.

¹² Oldenberg, *On the Dates of Ancient Indian Inscriptions and Coins*, p. 43 n.

¹³ *AHD*, p. 19.

¹⁴ *List*, No. 1097.

objects to this identification on the ground that 'we have got an inscription of Nahapāna's son-in-law in this cave recording the grant of a village to the Buddhist monks residing in it. Evidently he made this gift after the cave was excavated. But as Mitradevanaka incurred the expenses of carving one pillar in this cave, it is clear that his gift was in time prior to its excavation. Mitradevanaka's father, Ṛṣabhadatta, cannot be the same as Ṛṣabhadatta, son-in-law of Nahapāna.¹⁵ The objection is ineffective, as Mitradevanaka could well have been living even before the cave was excavated.

DEFEAT.

In the Nasik inscription No. 12 of the year 42 Nahapāna is called a Kṣatrapa, while in the Junnar inscription of the year 46 he is a Mahākṣatrapa.¹⁶ This shows that between the years 42 and 46 (A.D. 120 and 124) he improved his status, probably taking advantage of the confusion of the interregnum of Kadphises II and Kanishka. But he was not long to enjoy his high status. For soon after this event, he and his family were extirminated by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, the twenty-third Sātavāhana king of the Purāṇas.

¹⁵ *EA*, 1918, p. 73 n.

¹⁶ *List*, Nos. 1133 and 1174.

V—THE RESTORED SĀTAVĀHANAS

GAUTAMĪPUTRA.

We have seen above that Nahapāna had annexed the northern portion of the Sātavāhana kingdom. The Sātavāhanas continued at Pratiṣṭhāna, though over a greatly reduced empire. Their lost glory was retrieved by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi some time, but not much, after A.D. 124, the last known date of Nahapāna. In the Nasik inscription No. 2,¹ Gautamīputra is said to have been the lord of Asika, Aśmaka, Mulaka, Surāṣṭra, Kupa, Aparānta, Anupa, Vidarbha, Ākara and Avanti; his empire included the Vindhya, Chavata, Pāriyātra, Sahya, Kṛṣṇagiri, Maca, Siriṭana, Malaya, Mahendra, Śvetagiri and Cakora mountains.² This shows that he annexed nearly all that Nahapāna held and his epithet 'the extirminator of the family of Kṣaharāta (i.e., Nahapāna *par excellence*) is not an empty boast. The inclusion of the Mahendra mountain (the southern portion of the Eastern Ghats) suggests that he is the prince who conquered the Āndhra region.

The conquest of Nahapāna, it has been rightly conjectured, took place in the eighteenth year of his reign. For in that year the king orders the confirmation of a gift of a cave at Nasik from the victorious camp at Venākaṭaka,³ probably when returning from his campaign against Nahapāna. If the eighteenth year of his reign fell in c. A.D. 125, we would not be far from the truth in placing his accession in c. A.D. 107. From Nasik inscriptions

¹ *List*, No. 1123.

² For identifications, see *IA*, 1918, pp. 150 f. Rapson's identifications (*Cat.* pp. xxxi f) require much revision.

³ Nasik Inscription No. 4. *List*, No. 1125.

Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5, R. G. Bhandārkar concluded that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Vasiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi ruled conjointly, the one at Dhanakāṭaka and the other at Pratiṣṭhāna.⁴ The suggestion cannot be accepted; the new reading of the inscriptions and the peculiar position of the caves forbid such a conclusion.⁵

The Nasik inscription No. 2 of Gautamīputra's mother Balaśrī says *inter alia* that he was always obedient to his mother, that he adopted *ahimsā* to his enemies even when they offended him, that he was the fountain of good manners, and that he arranged for *samājas* on festivals. He is also called a unique Brāhmaṇa, who destroyed the pride and vaunt of the Kṣatriyas, a statement which definitely proves that the Sātavāhanas were Brāhmaṇas.

According to V. S. Bakhle, 'had it not been for his premature death [?], he would have ranked as one of the greatest kings of India. Yet as a king he was undoubtedly great, a king of whom any nation would feel proud.'⁶ Perhaps, but caution must check conclusions drawn from the panegyrics of the king's mother.

PULUMĀVI.

Gautamīputra had a reign of at least twenty-four years, as the Nasik inscription No. 5 is dated in that year.⁷ He was succeeded by his son, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi in c. A.D. 131. Vāsiṣṭhīputra's coins are found in the Chanda

⁴ *EHD*, pp. 32 f; *Transactions of the Second Session of the International Congress of Orientalists*, 1874, pp. 348 f; also *IA*, 1918, pp. 152 f., etc.

⁵ R. D. Banerji, *JRAS*, 1917, pp. 281 f, 1925, pp. 1 f; K. A. Nilakanthasastri, *Ibid.*, 1926, pp. 646 f; *AHD*, pp. 38 f; *PHAI*, pp. 311 f.

⁶ *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, N.S., p. 74.

⁷ *List*, No. 1126.

district of the Central Provinces, in the Godavari, Kistna and Guntur districts, and on the sea-shore at different points between Madras and Cuddalore.⁸ His inscriptions are distributed over Karle, Nasik and Amaravati.⁹ This shows that he held every region that was under Gautamīputra except Ākara and Avanti, and added the Āndhra region too, if it had not already been conquered by his father. His reign lasted for about twenty-five years, a Karle inscription being dated in the twenty-fifth year of his reign.¹⁰ Another Karle inscription suggests that that region was governed by the Mahārāṭhi Somadeva, himself a Vāsiṣṭhīputra and son of Mahārāṭhi Kauśikīputra Mītra-deva.¹¹

In c. A.D. 155, Pulumāvi was succeeded by his brother Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarni who is known to us from two inscriptions, at Nanaghat and Kanheri.¹² We shall have occasion to examine his position in detail later on.

⁸ *Cat.*, pp. 20 f; *ASI-AR*, 1924-25, pp. 158 ff.

⁹ For the controversy about the Myakadoni inscription of Pulumāvi, see *EI*. Vol. XIV, pp. 153 f; *AHD*, p. 51; *QJMS*, Vol. XIII, p. 592; *JBBRAS*, Vol. I, N. S., p. 161.

¹⁰ *List*, No. 1106.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 1100.

¹² *Ibid.*, Nos. 1120 and 994.

VI—THE WESTERN KṢATRAPAS

ORIGIN.

It requires no imagination to understand who deprived Pulumāvi of his possessions in central India. It was certainly Caṣṭana, the founder of the dynasty of western Kṣatrapas. The name of the father of Caṣṭana was Ysāmotika, a Scythic name. But the tribe probably belonged to Persia, as is shown by the prevalence of names ending in *-dama*, which reminds us of Spalaga-dama, who was associated with Vonones the Parthian, as well as by the fact that the daughter of Rudradāman calls herself a Kārdamaka, a derivative of Kardama, a Persian river.¹ It may be emphasized that the Western Kṣatrapas are never called Śaka in any authentic record. Their use of the Śaka era in inscriptions, and coins indicates nothing but a borrowing from the family of Nahapāna. Rapson, on the contrary, thinks that 'in the Allahabad inscription of Samudra-Gupta the Śakas who are mentioned together with the Daivaputra-śāhi-śāhānuśāhis (= Kuṣāṇas) may reasonably be supposed to be the Western Kṣatrapas. The slaying of the Śaka king seems to refer to an episode in the Gupta conquest of their kingdom.'² None of these examples is decisive; for recent researches have established that in both cases the Śakas are to be military conquest.³

¹ *Ibid.*, No. 994. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, ed. Shamasastri, 3rd. ed., p. 75; Thomas, *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 208 f; *Cat.*, p. civ f.

² *Cat.*, p. cv n.

³ *CII*, Vol. III, No. 1; *Harṣacarita*, ed. Führer, p. 270.

CAṢṬANA.

If the Parthian origin of the Western Kṣatrapas be accepted as a fact, we can confidently trace the way through which they entered India. They must have chosen the route through Beluchistan and the Bolan Pass, and seem to have settled in Sind. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that the earliest inscripational records of Caṣṭana are found at Audhau in Cutch. Those inscriptions, five in number, are dated in the year 52 (A.D. 130) and belong to the conjoint rule of Caṣṭana and his grandson Rudradāman. Caṣṭana might have felt the steel of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who is called in the Nasik inscription No. 2 (l. 5) 'the destroyer of Śakas, Yavanas and *Pahlavas*.' The westward expansion of Caṣṭana seems to have begun after the death of Gautamīputra. With Gujrat as his base, he proceeded eastward and made himself master of Ujjayinī by c. A.D. 140, which is mentioned as his capital by Ptolemy the astronomer. That his conquests began from northern Gujrat is evident from the fact that Ptolemy includes Ujjayinī in Lāṭadeśa. 'Ptolemy's Lariakê is a political rather than a geographical division, and as such comprehended, in addition to the part of the sea-board to which the name is strictly applicable, an extensive inland territory, rich in agricultural and commercial products and possessed large and flourishing towns, acquired no doubt by military conquest.'⁵

⁴ *ASI-AR*, 1905-6, pp. 166 f; *PR-ASWI*, 1915, p. 67; *EL*, Vol. XVI, pp. 19 f.

⁵ McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, pp. 152 f; of Burgess and Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujrat*, *ASI* (New Imperial Series, Vol. XXXII. Western India, Vol. IX), 1903, pp. 1 f.

JAYADĀMAN.

In his conquests Caṣṭana might have been helped by his grandson Rudradāman who was associated with him in the government as early as A.D. 130. Caṣṭana's son Jayadāman, who never attained to the rank of a Mahā-kṣatrpa,⁶ probably died, leaving the posthumous Rudradāman to be born. This may explain why Rudradāman is said to have attained to royalty from his very birth.⁶ That Jayadāman died before Caṣṭana is further apparent from the fact that none of his coins is found beyond the limits of Kathiawad. One coin with a very illegible inscription and the Ujjain symbol was attributed to him by Cunningham; but 'the correctness or the incorrectness of the attribution can only be decided by the discovery of a better preserved specimen.'⁷

RUDRADĀMAN.

The exploits of Rudradāman are fully described in his Junagadh inscription, recording the repairing of the Sudarśana lake built by Candragupta Maurya which gave way before a terrible storm in A.D. 150, and which was repaired by Suviśākha Pahlava, the son of Kulaipa and the governor of provinces of Ānarta and Surāṣṭra. The date of the incision of the epigraph is not given, but we may assume that such a vast construction which entailed the expenditure of a huge amount of money (l. 16) must have taken a few years to complete. The inscription may therefore be roughly dated c. A.D. 160.

⁶ Junagadh inscription, l. 9, *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 43.

⁷ *Cat.*, pp. cxviii and 77; Cunningham, *Coins of Mediæval India*, p. 6.

⁸ This phrase cannot be taken to mean literally. It appears to be a mannerism of ancient Indian panegyrics to represent the whole empire as the conquest of the emperor. Cf. Rock Edicts II, III, V and XIII, etc., of Aśoka, wherein his empire is called *vijita*.

The inscription enumerates the provinces conquered by Rudradāman 'by dint of his own prowess'⁸: eastern and western Ākara and Avanti, Anupa-nīvr̥da, Ānarta, Surāṣṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kaccha, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparānta or Niṣāda.⁹ Some of these provinces must have been under Caṣṭana, as is implied by Ptolemy. Which provinces were the acquisitions of Rudradāman himself it is very difficult to say. The southern portion of his empire was acquired from Sātakarṇi, the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, whom Rudradāman twice defeated, but did not depose owing to the nearness of their relation.

Who this Sātakarṇi was seems to be a knotty point. According to R. G. Bhandarkar he was Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi.¹⁰ But the extensive coinage of Yajña suggests that he could not have been the defeated prince. D. R. Bhandarkar's identification with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi¹¹ must be rejected, as he is too early for our purpose, and as a defeat of the hero of Nasik inscription No. 2 is inconceivable. Identification with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi¹² does not lead us far, as he was not a Sātakarṇi. The only king who can claim 'a non-remoteness of relation' with Rudradāman is Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, who is known from a Kanheri inscription to have married the daughter of Mahākṣatrpa Rudra[dāman].¹³ If Purāṇic evidence of the existence of a Sātakarṇi between Pulumāvi and Yajña is needed at all, it may be mentioned that the remarkable eVāyu MS. of Pargiter mentions a Sātakarṇi after Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi.

⁸ For identifications, see Indrajī and Bühler, *IA*, 1878, pp. 257 f; *Cat.*, p. lx.

¹⁰ *EHD*, p. 49.

¹¹ *JBBRAS*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 66 f; *IA*, 1918, pp. 154 f.

¹² *Cat.*, p. xxxviii; *JASB*, Vol. XXIII, N. S., p. 531, etc.

Pargiter warns us that 'a line found in one MS. need not be rejected straightway.'¹⁴

Rudradāman was a prince of great accomplishment and reminds us of Samudra-Gupta both by his attainments and the wordings of his inscription. He is said to have mastered the theory and practice of grammar, politics, music and logic; he is reported to have abjured killing life except in war, which also was characterized by humanity; he is further called the hero of many *svayam-varas*. It is interesting to note how foreigners adapted themselves to Hindu life and learning in a short time.

HIS SUCCESSORS.

His son Dāmaghsada or Dāmajada, who must have been associated with him as a Kṣatrapa, in which capacity he struck coins, succeeded his father in c. A.D. 165. After him came Jīvadāman, from whose time begins the series of dated coins. His Mahākṣatrapa-coins are dated 119 and 120, i.e., A.D. 197 and 198. But he seems to have been preceded by Rudradāman's brother Rudraśimha, who is known to have been a Kṣatrapa for the first time in the year 102 (A.D. 180), as Mahākṣatrapa for the first time from the year 103 to 110 (A.D. 181 to 188), as Kṣatrapa for the second time from the year 110 to 112 (A.D. 188 to 190) and finally as Mahākṣatrapa for the second time from the years 113 to 119 (A.D. 191 to 197).¹⁵ What was the reason of his fall from the position of a

¹³ *List*, No. 994; Bühler, *IA*, 1883, pp. 272 f. It has been argued that he being the son-in-law of Rudradāman, his relation with the emperor was not 'non-remote,' but positively near. But 'non-remote' is only a euphemism for 'near', such double-negative expressions being so common in Sanskrit.

¹⁴ *JKA*, p. 37.

¹⁵ *Cat.*, pp. 86 f; his Gunda inscription is dated 103, when he was the Kṣatrapa for the first time (*List*, No. 963).

Mahākṣatrapa has been a matter of conjecture. Rapson surmises that it was due to his submission to his rival Jivadāman.¹⁶ But as Jivadāman's Mahākṣatrapa coins are dated A. D. 197 and 198 and not A.D. 188 to 190, he is sure to have succeeded Rudrasimha after the latter's death and did not rule as a rival candidate. D. R. Bhandarkar accounts for this fact by placing the rise of the Ābhīra Mahākṣatrapa Īśvaradatta in A.D. 188¹⁷; but as we shall see later on, the Ābhīra occupation of western India could have taken place only after the last Sāta-vāhana. The only possible solution, therefore, is to ascribe the degradation of Rudrasimha to the aggression of Yajña Sātakarṇi, who is known to have occupied Surāṣṭra and Vidiśā and whose probable date is c. A.D. 170 to 200.

¹⁶ *Cat.*, p. cxxvi.

¹⁷ *ASI-AR*, 1913-14, pp. 230 f.

VII—THE LAST SĀTAVĀHANAS

SĀTAKARṆI.

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, the Sātavāhana prince defeated by Rudradāman, is known to us from two inscriptions at Kanheri and Nanaghat. He succeeded his brother Pulumāvi in c. A.D. 155 and was defeated by Rudradāman in two battles before A.D. 160, the probable date of the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman. Rudradāman conquered the Aparānta province from him; but he bought peace by marrying the daughter of his victor, who in return re-instated him in the conquered province, remembering the nearness of their mutual relationship. Sātakarṇi had to impose on himself the foreign title Catara-pana, evidently an Indian adaptation of the Persian word *xšaθrapāvan*. As his Nanaghat inscription is dated in the thirteenth year of his reign, we may conclude that he died c. A.D. 170, possibly after Rudradāman.

Coins of two more Vāsiṣṭhīputras, Śiva and Caṇḍa-sāti, the 25th and 29th of the Purāṇas, are found in Āndhradeśa.¹ Of them Śiva is often identified with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi.² That seems improbable, as neither the Kanheri nor the Nanaghat inscription mentions Śiva before Sātakarṇi's name. Śiva may have been a brother of Sātakarṇi and ruled in Āndhradeśa either as a governor or as a rival candidate of Sātakarṇi, who does not seem to have held that region.

YAJÑA.

In western India, two more Sātavāhanas are known to have ruled, Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi and

¹ *Cat.*, pp. 29 f.

² *AHD*, pp. 43 f; Nilakanthasastry, *JRAS*, 1926, p. 659, etc.

Māḍharīputra Sāta. D. R. Bhandarkar would place the latter of them earlier on palæographical grounds.³ But as it is improbable that the script would appreciably change within one generation, what scriptal differences there are in the inscriptions of the two kings must be ascribed to the varying skill and personal inclination of the engravers. Yajña appears to have preceded Sāta, as the latter threw off his Persian title.

Yajña's inscriptions are found at Kanheri, Nasik and China,⁴ and his coins in the Kistna, Godavari and Guntur districts of the Madras Presidency, the Chanda district of the Central Provinces, in Gujrat and at Besnagar.⁵ Thus we find in the reign of Yajña a distinct attempt to revive the ancient glories of the Sātavāhanas. Surāṣṭra which had been under Rudradāman was snatched away after the death of the Mahākṣatrapa. Vidiśā might have been conquered from the northern Kuṣāṇas, for we find at Sanchi an inscription of Rājātirāja Vāsaṣka, dated in the year 28 of the Kanīṣka era.⁶

In spite of his wide conquests, Yajña does not seem to have thrown off his formal allegiance to the Kṣatrapas. For his Sopara coin is struck in imitation of the Kṣatrapa coins. On that coin he is called, like his father, Catara-pana, which was thought by Indraji to refer to Vāsiṣṭīputra Sātakarṇi.⁷ On that coin he is also called a Kṣahara, corresponding to which his Besnagar coin has Kṣaara. Both these may be the same word as Kṣaharāta,

³ *IA*, 1918, p. 155.

⁴ *List*, Nos. 987, 1024, 1146 and 1340.

⁵ *Cat.*, pp. 34 f; *ASI-AR*, 1913-14, pp. 208, 213 f; *Ibid.*, 1924-25, pp. 158 f.

⁶ *List*, No. 161.

⁷ *JBBRAS*, Vol. XV, p. 314; *Cat.*, p. xli.

the characteristic designation of Bhūmaka and Naha-pāna. This at once raises the presumption that the word Kṣaharāta, like the word Kṣatrapa, denotes a dignity and not the tribe to which Bhūmaka belonged. The China inscription of Yajña reads: ' Raño Gotamiputasa araka-siri-Yaṇa-Sātakaṇisa.'⁸ According to Bühler, *araka* stands, for *āryaka*⁹: but that is not possible, as the Prakrit form *āryaka* would be *ariyaka* or *ayyaka*, and not *araka*. So it is better, as D. R. Bhandarkar suggests, to read the above line as: ' raño Gotamiputa-saaraka-siri-Yaṇa-Sātakaṇisa,' *saaraka* corresponding to *kṣaara* of the coins.¹⁰ It may be marked that other inscriptions of the time substitute ' svāmin ' for ' kṣaara,' this again pointing to the conclusion that ' Kṣaharāta ' really denoted some dignity.

SĀTA.

The China inscription of Yajña is dated in his 27th regnal year; so his reign came to an end in c A.D. 200. His successor was Sāta of the Kanheri inscriptions.¹¹ Some coins of the Chanda district belonging to Śrī Sātakaṇi may be conjecturally attributed to him, for ' the types and fabrics of the coins are closely connected with those of Śrī Yajña Sātakaṇi.'¹² One of his inscriptions is dated in the eighth year of his reign. As he

⁸ *List*, No. 1340.

⁹ *EI*, Vol. I, p. 96.

¹⁰ *ASI-AR*, 1913-14, pp. 213 f.

¹¹ *List*, Nos. 1001-2. D. R. Bhandarkar assures us (*IA*, 1918, p. 155) that the inscriptions read Siri-Sāta, and not Saksena or Sirisena, as proposed by R. G. Bhandarkar and Bhagwanlal Indraji (*EHD*, p. 37; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XII, pp. 407 f.).

¹² *Cat.*, pp. 43 f.

and all his predecessors held western India uninterruptedly, the Ābhīra occupation of that region must have taken place after him.

In Chanda district, a coin of one Kṛṣṇa Sātakarṇi has been found.¹³ But we have no indication of his relationship with the main line of the Sātavāhanas, nor with Rudra Sātakarṇi, whose coin, though found in the Kistna district, 'seems to be of a metal that is characteristic of the coins of the Chanda district.'¹⁴

KOLHAPUR COINS.

With the kings of the Āndhra region and of Banawasi we are not concerned. Of other kings who require a notice here are those known from the Kolhapur coins, Vasiṣṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura, Mātharīputra Sivalakura and Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura. Attempts are often made to identify them with this or that Sātavāhana prince¹⁵; and R. G. Bhandarkar held that the latter portions of the names represent the viceroys of the respective Sātavāhana emperors holding the former metronymics.¹⁶ But common metronymics prove nothing, and any such identifications must be rejected.¹⁷ It may, however, be suggested that these three princes were Mahārāṭhi chiefs, or at any rate connected with them. The ending of their names, *-kura*, may be some sort of title¹⁸ identical with

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46 n.

¹⁵ Indrajī, *JBBRAS*, Vol. XIII, p. 308; *Cat.*, pp. xxxix f, lxxxvii f.

¹⁶ *EHD*, p. 35.

¹⁷ D. R. Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 61 f; *IA*, 1920, pp. 33 f; *AHD*, p. 45.

¹⁸ Jayaswal suggests that it is the Tamil word for 'prince', *JBORS*, 1930, p. 267 n.

-kala of the Karwar coins and Cuṭukalānanda and Muḷānanda of those coins were certainly connected with Kaḷalāya Mahārāṭhi of the Chitaldrug coins.¹⁹ It appears that the southern districts of the Bombay Presidency and the north-western portion of Mysore formed the zone of the Mahārāṭhis and their allies. Be that as it may, either the first or the last king of the Kolhapur coins was seen by Ptolemy to be ruling at Hippokouros.²⁰

¹⁹ *Cat.*, pp. xxi f, lxxxii f, 5f, 57f.

²⁰ McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, pp. 175 f.

APPENDIX A

THE DATE OF THE EARLY SĀTAVĀHANAS

PALÆOGRAPHY.

The date of the rise of the Sātavāhanas depends to a very large extent on the dates that we assign to the Nanaghat and Nasik inscriptions. Bühler, who is more often than not quoted in this connection regarded the Nanaghat inscriptions as 'a little but not much later than Aśoka's and Daśaratha's edicts,'¹ and the Nasik inscription of Kṛṣṇa as belonging to 'the times of the last Mauryas or the earliest Śuṅgas, in the beginning of the second century B.C.'² But we must not forget that he also dated the Nanaghat inscriptions only a hundred years earlier than those of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, whom he believed to have lived in the first century B.C. With the shifting of the date of Gautamīputra to the second century A. D., the scriptal development which Bühler thought to have taken place in about 200 years has now to be distributed for a much longer period of about 400 years. Bühler therefore can only be taken to mean that the Nanaghat and Nasik inscriptions stand half-way between the third century B. C. and the second century A. D. and are thus to be placed in the first century B.C.³ It is much to be regretted that the views of the eminent epigraphist have been so often misrepresented by part-quotation.

This is in entire accordance with the results that R. P. Chanda arrived at after a careful survey of the palæography of this age. According to him, the Nanaghat inscription of Nāyanikā is to be placed after the

¹ *ASWI*, Vol. V, p. 71.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 98.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 65, 72f.

Besnagar inscription of Bhāgavata, i.e., about the beginning of the first century B.C.⁴ According to Marshall, an ascription of an earlier date than the first century B.C. to the southern gateway of the Sanchi stūpa (on which Sātakarṇi's name occurs) conflicts not only with what is now known of the history of eastern Malwa (which in the second century B.C. was ruled by the Śuṅgas and not by the Āndhras), but with the history also of early Indian plastic art which has recently been established on a much firmer basis.⁵

Archæological evidence thus points to the first century B.C. as the date of the rise of the Sātavāhanas. It is impossible to be more accurate, as palæography can only fix a latitude of time covering a century. The difficulty is further increased by the fact that 'there being more than one style of writing in vogue at one and the same time, the chronology of the records of the second century B.C. and thereabouts are not deducible merely from letter-forms.'⁶ Above all, as Senart hints, a comparative study of the inscriptions is dangerous, as we have no documents of sure dates in this period.⁷

KHĀRAVELA.

The Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela, in line 4 of which there is a reference to Sātakarṇi, would have afforded us a *terra firma* regarding Sātavāhana chronology. Jayaswal's conclusion that Khāravela is to be placed in the second century B.C. (which has been accepted by many workers in the field) was mainly based on the following arguments: (1) there is a reference to Bahasatimitra (= Puṣyamitra) in line 12; (2) there is a mention of Yavanarāja Dīmīta (= Demetrius) in line 8. Other arguments in

⁴ *MAI*, No. 1, 1919, pp. 14f.

⁵ Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 13; also *ASI-AR*, 1913-14, p. 3.

⁶ Jayaswal, *JBORS*, 1927, p. 249.

⁷ Senart, *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, Tome Second, p. 462: 'La vérité est que, tout au moins pour cette période, nous manquons d'une échelle du développement paléographique graduée par des documents irrécusables.'

favour of this conclusion, such as Khāravela's living 300 years after Nanda and 165 years after Candragupta Maurya have been given up by Jayaswal himself and need not be reconsidered here.⁸ The proposed identity of Bahasati-mitra with Puṣyamitra is nothing but a wild conjecture. The Pabhosa inscription clearly indicates that he was the contemporary of Ūdāka, who was not the fifth Śuṅga king. The mention of Demetrius is no less doubtful. According to a recent editor of the inscription, the reading is 'ingenious but uncertain.'⁹

PURĀNAS.

The inscription of Khāravela affords no clue to the date of the Sātavāhanas and itself depends for its date on the chronological position of Sātakarṇi. The Purānas, more confused in their accounts of the Āndhras than of any other dynasty, do not help us in the least. 'The Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu all say that there were 30 kings, though they do not give 30 names. The Vāyu MSS. name only 17, 18, 19 and *o* Vāyu, which is the fullest, names only 25; Brahmāṇḍa only 17; Bhāgavata 23 and Viṣṇu 24 or 22 or 23 in two MSS. The Matsya says there were 19 kings, but 3 MSS. (*dgn*) actually name 30. The total of individual reign is only 444½ years even if we take the largest periods wherever there is a difference, but the whole duration is said to be 460 years in Matsya, 454 in Vāyu, and 456 in Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata.'¹⁰

The statement that the Sātavāhanas ruled for 460 years has been taken as a support of the theory that the Sātavāhanas came to power in c. B.C. 220. But the Purāṇic list seems to combine all the branches of the Sātavāhana family, for names like Kuntala Sātakarṇi

⁸ *JBORS*, 1917, pp. 425f; 1918, pp. 864f; 1927, pp. 221f; 1928, pp. 150f. R. D. Banerji agreed with Jayaswal, *Ibid.*, 1917, pp. 486f; *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 59f; *EI*, Vol. XX, pp. 71f.

⁹ Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions of Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, p. 18.

¹⁰ *DKA*, pp. 36f.

and Cakora Sātakarṇi tell their own tale.¹¹ From various inscriptions we know that princes of more than one dynasty bore the name Sātakarṇi.¹² This makes it highly probable that the longer list of the Purāṇas includes some of the branch lines of the Sātavāhana family, or, more correctly, some other kings bearing the title Sātakarṇi.

We have seen above that Skandastambhi and Sātakarṇi II (i.e., Svāti or Śaktikumāra, the fifth and sixth kings) were the sons of Sātakarṇi I. There is no possibility of Pūrṇotsaṅga, the fourth king, coming in between Sātakarṇi and Skanda; his existence in the main line thus becomes doubtful. The tenth and eleventh kings have been called Svāti and Skandasvāti. It may be suspected that they are the same as the fifth and sixth kings. Thus repetition and duplication also might have played a part in the prolonging of the Purāṇic list. The statement that there were thirty kings who reigned for 460 years cannot therefore be accepted without some corroborative evidence. The shorter list seems to indicate the correct number, but in that too there may be some false names.

LEGENDS.

Everything up till now points to the first century B.C. as the date of the Sātavāhana power. And we have a striking confirmation from the legends. We have seen above that Jaina tradition makes Śaktikumāra a son of Sātavāhana. As Śakti was the son of Sātakarṇi I (as the Nanaghat inscription indicates), Sātakarṇi turns out to be the Sātavāhana *par excellence* of the legends. Of course, as Jacobi points out, we have in the Sātavāhana of the traditions the remembrance of more kings than one,

¹¹ The commentator of Vātsyāyana explains Kuntala Sātakarṇi as: 'Kuntala-viṣaye jātatvāt tat-samākhyah (*Kāmasūtra*, ed. Nirṇayasāgara Press, p. 154).

¹² Cf. *List*, Nos. 1186, 1195, etc.; *Cat.*, Coin No. 233; also pp. xliii and liii.

mixed up with popular imagination.¹³ But I believe that the legends can be explained if we refer most of them to Sātakarṇi I and others to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The *Avantisundarikathāsāra*, it has been said before, makes Śūdraka a contemporary of Śakti. The *Caturvīṃśatī-prabandha* of Rājasekhara brings Sātavāhana and Śūdraka into intimate relationship. In the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, another work of Rājasekhara, we have the remarkable synchronism of Vāsudeva (Kāṇva), Sātavāhana (Sātakarṇi I), Śūdraka and Sāhasaṅka (Vikramāditya).¹⁴ This fixes the date of Śūdraka and Sātakarṇi. We have another catching statement in the *Skanda Purāṇa* (Kumārikākhaṇḍa) that Śūdraka preceded Vikramāditya by 27 years.¹⁵ It has been mentioned before that the *Kalpaprādīpa* of Jinaprabhasūri refers to an encounter between Vikramāditya and Sātavāhana. Thus we have a remarkable consensus in legends about the contemporaneity of Vikramāditya, Śūdraka and Sātakarṇi-Sātavāhana.

JAYASWAL.

Tradition has sometimes confused between Gautamīputra and Vikramāditya for the obvious reason that both were Śakāris. Jayaswal identifies the two and places them in c. B.C. 57.¹⁶ But we have not the slightest evidence of Vikramāditya being a Sātavāhana or of Gautamīputra bearing the title Vikramāditya. Jayaswal's chronology is untenable for many other reasons. He follows the datum of Jinasena in preference to that of the *Paṭṭāvalis*. Jinasena may be earlier, but certainly not more reliable, for he makes Gardabhilla live 142 years before Vikrama, i.e., in B.C. 199, an absurdity on the

¹³ ZDMG, 34ster Band, p. 257: 'Es ist eben in dem Vikramāditya und dem Sātavāhana der Sage der Erinnerung mehrerer Könige, wohl nicht ohne mythologische Zusatz vereinigt.'

¹⁴ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, ed. Gaikwar Oriental Series, p. 55. Sāhasaṅka was the surname of Vikramāditya, Kss, cxx, 39, 51, etc.

¹⁵ Wilfred, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, p. 118.

¹⁶ JBORS, 1930, pp. 227f.

very face of it. Jayaswal's attempts to reconcile this with the known history of the period are not at all convincing. His identification of Naravāhana with Nahapāna must be rejected. Besides the main thesis of his paper, there are many other points which cannot be maintained. In the *Kāthāsaritsāgara* there is nothing to show that the king of Kalinga was the overlord of Ekākikeśarin, the Bhilla chief, whose daughter Vikramāditya married. Besides it is impossible that Suśarman, the last Kāṇva king, was a prisoner in the Sātavāhana court of Pratiṣṭhāna. He has been distinctly called the king of Pratiṣṭhāna in the *Kāthāsaritsāgara*; his female establishment is referred to, and in old age he bequeaths the throne of Pratiṣṭhāna to his daughter's son.¹⁷ As there is no evidence of his working under Sātavāhana tutelage, he must be regarded as a legendary king, different from the Kāṇva king of that name.

BARUA.

Raychaudhuri seems to suggest that Simuka himself defeated the last Kāṇva in B.C. 28.¹⁸ Yet he believes somewhat contradictorily that Khāravela, the contemporary of the third Sātavāhana, lived in the first century B.C.¹⁹ Following the Purāṇas to the letter, Barua places the third Sātavāhana in the first century A.D.²⁰ But the Purāṇic tradition seems to have grown out of the misunderstanding that the 'Āndhras' were a Magadhan power, and could only have come into existence after the founder of their dynasty had destroyed the last Kāṇva. It is to be marked that even in the time of Simuka's son, Sātakarṇi, the Sātavāhana kings were only Dakṣiṇā-pathādhipatis,²¹ which indicates that they had not yet destroyed the Kāṇvas.

¹⁷ *Kss*, vii, 58f, 80, 98, 103, etc.

¹⁸ *PHAI*, pp. 257f.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 237f, 258f.

²⁰ *Barua*, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

²¹ *List*, No. 1112. My attention to this fact was drawn by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri in an obliging letter, dated March 13, 1932.

BHANDARKAR.

R. G. Bhandarkar believed that there were two seats of the Sātavāhana empire, the imperial one at Dhana-kataka and the junior one at Pratiṣṭhāna. The emperor ruled at Dhanakataka and the prince at Pratiṣṭhāna; on the death of the emperor, the prince would transfer himself to Dhanakataka.²² This does not seem possible, as the association of the Sātavāhanas with the Āndhra country is met with only in the case of the last kings of the line. He sought to strengthen his conclusion by reading 'Dhanakatasvāmin' in Nasik inscription No. 4 and making it an adjective to Gautamīputra Sātakarni. As we shall see later on, that is a wrong reading. The theory of the conjoint rule of the Sātavāhanas is, therefore, untenable.

CHATTOPADHYAYA.

K. P. Chattopadhyaya believes that among the Sātavāhanas, the succession was matriarchal, the throne passing on to the sister's son and not to the son of the last king. This brought into being two Sātavāhana lines: in the main line, the successor was the sister's son; in the branch one, the successor was the son.²³ The theory has been brought out brilliantly, but, I am afraid, on an insufficient datum. He bases his arguments on the fact that the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* omit the name of Pulumāvi after Gautamīputra Sātakarni, and mention Gautamīputra Yajña instead. It cannot be maintained that the two Gautamīputras were brothers, for in that case they would have been mentioned as such, as in the case of Simuka and Kṛṣṇa. To elucidate the nature of the succession, therefore, we have to look for a very near relative (close enough to displace a son) other than a brother, and who could yet be a Gautamīputra; and Chattopadhyaya finds all these conditions satisfied in a

²² *EHD*, pp. 32f; D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1918, p. 152.

²³ *JASB*, Vol. XXIII, N. S., pp. 503f.

sister's son. But the omission of Pulumāvi after Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi in some Purāṇas need not indicate anything else but another case of the Purāṇic sin of omission and commission. Nor is it a fact that the Purāṇas always mention the relationship when the successor is a brother; the case of Skandastambhi and Sātakarṇi II clearly disproves any such assumption.

APPENDIX B

THE DATE OF NAHAPĀNA AND CONNECTED PROBLEMS

DATE OF NAHAPĀNA.

It has been assumed above that the Śaka era owed its origin to the family of Nahapāna and that therefore the dates of his inscriptions are to be referred to that era. I believe no other era serves our purpose for the following reasons :

(1) The Jaina tradition of the *Paṭṭāvalis* and the *Kālakācāryakathānaka* says that Malwa was held by Vikramāditya and his successors for 135 years, i.e., till A.D. 78. There is no room therefore for the long rule of the family of Nahapāna before that date.

(2) Another Jaina work says that Nahapāna was defeated by a Sātavāhana prince.¹ This Sātavāhana could only have been Gautamīputra, who is known to have uprooted the family of the Kṣaharāta. Gautamīputra's date cannot be in the first century A.D., as his son was defeated by Rudradāman.

(3) The coins of Nahapāna are closely connected with those of Caṣṭana,² one of whose known dates is A.D. 130. It is not possible to separate them by any great length of time.

(4) The evidence of the Jogalthembi (Nasik) hoard of coins clearly points to the fact that Gautamīputra defeated Nahapāna, and there is no room for any other king to come in.

(5) In the Nasik inscription No. 4, Gautamīputra refers to a field 'which was enjoyed up to this time by Rṣabhadatta,' the son-in-law of Nahapāna.

¹ JBORS, 1930, pp. 290f.

² H. R. Scott, JBRAS, Vol. XXII, p. 230n.

(6) In the Nasik inscription No. 12 of *Ṛsabhadatta*, there is a reference to *Kuṣāṇa* coins which is only possible if *Nahapāna* be regarded as a satrap of the *Kuṣāṇas*.

The objections against these arguments³ may be thus summarized :

(1) *H. R. Scott* points out that on the coins of the *Jogalthembi* hoard the portraits of the king are so different that they cannot possibly represent one king. We have therefore to look into the possibility of the coins belonging 'to not one king, but a series of kings, sons and grandsons perhaps of *Nahapāna*, who retained on their coins the name of their great ancestors as a title of honour, and for some strange reason caused their features to be portrayed on their coins, whilst refusing to record their personal name.' This is supported by the fact that the coins show that they must have been in circulation for a pretty long time before being restruck by *Gautamīputra*.⁴ *Gautamīputra* therefore defeated one of the successors of *Nahapāna*, and not *Nahapāna* himself.

(2) The characters of the inscriptions of *Nahapāna* are earlier than those of inscriptions of *Śoḍāsa*, who lived in the first century A.D. Besides it is natural that *Nahapāna* should live in the same time as the other *Kṣaharātas* of northern India.

(3) The difference in the script of the Nasik inscriptions of *Nahapāna* and of the *Junagadh* inscription of *Rudradāman* is considerable and a period of less than hundred years is not sufficient to explain the difference.

(4) Comparative philology shows that while all the inscriptions of *Nahapāna* are in *Prakrit*, the inscription of *Rudradāman* is in *Sanskrit*; so that the first set must be much earlier than the latter.

³ *R. D. Banerji*, *IA*, 1908, p. 43; *JRAS*, 1917, pp. 273f; 1925, 1f; *K. A. Nilakanthasastry*, *Ibid.*, 1926, pp. 643f; *AHD*, pp. 24f, 30; *V. S. Bakhle*, *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, N. S., pp. 66f; *H. C. Ghosh*, *MQ*, 1930, 747f; 1931, 117f, etc.

⁴ *JBBRAS*, Vol. XXII, pp. 237 and 240.

(5) It is highly improbable that a family of governors should establish an era.

(6) Senart has translated Nasik inscription No. 4 in a different way, so that it is no longer possible to maintain that Rṣabhadatta was enjoying the field when it was occupied by Gautamīputra.

(7) If we refer the inscriptions of Nahapāna to the Śaka era, we have to crowd the following six events within six years A.D. 124 (the last known date of Nahapāna) and A.D. 130 (the date of the Andhau inscriptions: (i) the end of Nahapāna's rule, (ii) the destruction of the Kṣaharātas, (iii) the accession of Caṣṭana as Kṣatrapa, his accession as Mahākṣatrapa, and his reign as Mahākṣatrapa, (iv) the accession of Jayadāman as Kṣatrapa, his reign as Kṣatrapa and perhaps also his reign as Mahākṣatrapa, (v) the accession of Rudradāman and the beginning of his reign.

(8) After the defeat of the Kṣaharātas Gautamīputra held Nasik for at least six years, Pulumāvi for at least 22 years, and Yajña for 16 years (Kanhari inscription), so that Aparānta (which included the Nasik region) was under the uninterrupted rule of the Sātavāhanas at least for 44 years after Gautamīputra's defeat of Nahapāna, i.e., till A.D. 168, if Nahapāna's inscriptions are referred to the Śaka era. But in the Junagadh inscription we find Rudradāman in possession of Aparānta in A.D. 150. Thus we arrive at a conflict of territories which can only be removed by referring the inscriptions of Nahapāna to an earlier era than the Śaka era.

Thus, according to these scholars, the inscriptions of Nahapāna ought to be referred to the Vikrama era or the so-called era of Azes. R. D. Banerji more cautiously observes: 'The dates of dated Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions are to be referred to more than two eras. One of them may have been used by Nahapāna.' Let us individually examine these arguments.

(1) No doubt the coins of the Jogalthembi hoard exhibit different portraits, but that does not justify the multiplication of kings with the same name. The coins

of Heliokles bear two different effigies,⁵ and D. R. Bhandarkar tells us that every ruler of the Sarvania hoard of Kṣatrapa coins is represented by two or three portraits.⁶ The suggestion that the Jogalthembi hoard contains coins of more than one king cannot be maintained, unless 'the strange reason' which prevented the supposed descendants of Nahapāna from engraving their own names can be guessed out. Scott himself does not seriously believe in it, for 'right in the way of any such theory lies the stubborn fact that almost all, if not quite all of the various types of Nahapāna's coins are found among the coins which were counter-stamped by Nahapāna's conqueror Sātakarṇi. . . The fact is unquestionable that among the coins stamped by Sātakarṇi are specimens of practically all the various types found among the coins that are not counter-stamped.' Nahapāna therefore must be regarded as the name of one individual, not of a series of kings. The fact is that Nahapāna, like Kujūla Kadphises, struck coins in imitation of Roman coins. Indeed so exact is the copy that the figures might easily be mistaken for Roman coins, especially those of Alexandria, bearing Greek legends.⁷

The fact that the coins were for a long time in circulation before being restruck proves nothing. According to Scott, a period of twenty years would suffice to explain the wear and tear of the coins. We may easily believe that they were struck by Nahapāna in the early part of his reign. No dated coin of Nahapāna has yet been discovered to nullify this supposition.

(2) Banerji elsewhere complains of the unhealthy practice of drawing conclusions from a 'comparison of northern inscriptions with those of the country to the south of the Narmadā and the Vindhya'. Palæographical examination is not possible with inscriptions lying

⁵ Gardner, *Catalogue of Coins of Greek and Scythian Kings*, pp. xxixf; Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 13.

⁶ *ASI-AR*, 1913-14, p. 229.

⁷ *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 550f.

more than a thousand miles apart.⁸ It is highly undesirable to compare the Taxila and Mathurā inscriptions with the southern inscriptions of Nahapāna and to deduce conclusions therefrom.

(3) According to Banerji's own examination of the letters in Nahapāna's inscriptions and that of Rudradāman, *a, ā, i, e, ga, gha, ca, ja, ta, tha* and some other letters are exactly the same or only slightly different. Some besides do not occur in this or that inscription. Of the rest, I believe there is nothing that cannot be due to the personal characteristics of the engravers, nothing that can warrant the statement that 'the difference between the two sets of epigraphs is considerable and cannot be less than a century.'

(4) This point is not worth serious consideration. Pushed to its logical conclusion, it will end in proving that even the latest Sātavāhanas whose inscriptions are in Prakrit were earlier than Rudradāman, or even Puṣya-mitra Śuṅga whose Ayodhya inscription is in Sanskrit.⁹ In this connection it may be mentioned that according to Sylvain Lévi the Kṣatrapas were patrons of Sanskrit as opposed to Prakrit, and 'played a decisive rôle in the final constitution of Sanskrit literature. . . . In wresting from the schools and liturgy of the Brāhmaṇas their mysterious language, they raised against the confused variety of local Prakrits an adversary which alone was capable of triumphing over it.'¹⁰

(5) It is not necessary to believe that Bhūmaka established his era as if by a public proclamation. The Śaka era, like most other eras of the world, grew out of the popular habit of dating events from a particular epoch¹¹; and the Śaka conquest of Ujjayinī after 135

⁸ R. D. Banerji, *Palaeography of the Hathigumpha and the Nanaghat Inscriptions*, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XI, No. 3, 1930, p. 144.

⁹ *EI*, Vol. XX, pp. 54f.

¹⁰ *IA*, 1904, p. 174.

¹¹ Cf. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p. xx.

years was an event sufficiently important to form an epoch.

(6) The passage that refers to Rṣabhadatta is: 'gāme Aparakakhadiye ya khetam ajakālikiyam Usabhadatena bhutam.' According to Bühler, *ajakālikiyam* means 'hitherto,' standing for Sanskrit *adyakālikam*.¹² Senart rejects this, because 'it would be really an odd way of speaking. It is besides necessary that the object of the gift should be precisely stated, the more so because if Rṣabhadatta had laid hand on a possession in these parts, it is hardly to be believed that it would not have extended over more than one field. I am therefore inclined to think that Ajakālikiya is the name of a place, whatever may be its exact etymology.'¹³

Senart's translation, though the latest, need not necessarily be the final. So far as I am aware, it is not a usual practice in such inscriptions to call by name the field given away. To a field specified by name, it is manifestly unnecessary to add 'enjoyed by Rṣabhadatta.' It is to be observed that the Nasik inscription No. 5, which concerns itself with the same field, the phrase is significantly omitted. One would naturally expect the word here too, had it really been the name of the field. Bühler's translation seems, therefore, to be more natural. Even if it be rejected, the fact remains that the field was in the possession of Rṣabhadatta when Gautamīputra occupied it; for there is no point in his referring to the fact had it been a century old.

(7) As we have seen above, there is no crowding of events within six years; only, fortunately we know a bit more of this period than is usually the case in the early centuries of Indian history,—a fact that can hardly be a matter of complaint. Banerji presupposes (1) that the ends of Nahapāna and the Kṣaharātas did not coincide; (2) that Caṣṭana's accession could have taken place only after the destruction of the Kṣaharātas; (3) that Jaya-

¹² ASWI, Vol. V, p. 105; Indrajī, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI, p. 560.

¹³ EI, Vol. VIII, p. 72.

dāman ruled *separately* as a Kṣatrapa, and possibly as a Mahākṣatrapa of which fact we have not the least evidence; and (4) that by A.D. 130, the date of the Andhau inscriptions, Rudradāman's career of conquest was finished. None of these assumptions is tenable. To deal with them in short, Nahapāna being the last Kṣaharāta, his family was destroyed with him; Caṣṭana might have been ruling in Cutch and Sind when Nahapāna held central and western India; Jayadāman died before his father while still a Kṣatrapa, in which capacity he was associated with Caṣṭana's government; and finally the Andhau inscriptions testify to the Kṣatrapa occupation of Cutch only, and not of the whole of central and western India. As we shall see presently, it is impossible to interpret the Andhau inscriptions otherwise.

(8) It has been argued that Rudradāman who occupied Aparānta could not but have taken Nasik on his way. H. C. Ghosh further holds that the Nasik region was included in Aparānta. This launches us on a detailed consideration of the limits of Aparānta. According to Cunningham, it was actually in the west of India and did not extend geographically to the south of the Narmadā, because some coins bearing the legend *apalātasa mahārājasa* have been found in Rajputana and at Mathurā.¹⁴ This view is utterly unacceptable and *apalāta* should be taken to represent some other word than *aparānta*. Kālidāsa strictly restricts the term to the strip of land between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea.¹⁵ Varāhamihira distinguishes between Nāsikya in the southern division of India and Aparānta in the western.¹⁶ But there are some distinct evidences to the contrary. Ptolemy's Ariakê which represents 'Aparānta' includes some inland country.¹⁷ According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Aparānta included Tosala, Kosala, Nāsikya, Uttaranarmada, Bhīrukaccha, Māheya, Sāras-

¹⁴ *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 102f.

¹⁵ *Raghuvamśa*, iv, 53f.

¹⁶ *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, xiv, 13 and 20.

¹⁷ McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, pp. 175f.

vata, Kāsmīra (!), Surāṣṭra, Āvantya and Arbuda.¹⁸ In this all-embracing sense, however, it is never used. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* excludes Nāsikya, Kaccha and Surāṣṭra from Aparānta and groups them separately.¹⁹ The *Mahābhārata* says that Arjuna visited all the holy places in Aparānta and then went to Prabhāsa in Gujrat²⁰; the two were therefore distinct. Similarly, the Nasik inscription No 2 (l. 2) and the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman make separate mention of Surāṣṭra and Aparānta; it is evident therefore that they do not use the term Aparānta in the sense that is given in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, which H. C. Ghosh invokes to prove his point.²¹ Rudradāman's occupation of Nasik is therefore a doubtful fact.

Even if the contrary is proved, we are not faced with any conflict of territory between the Sātavāhanas and Rudradāman. For we ought not to miss the definite statement of the Junagadh inscription that the defeated Sātakarni was not uprooted : in other words, Rudradāman re-instated his son-in-law on the throne, and returned to him his original possessions. This explains why we find an uninterrupted rule of the Sātavāhanas at Nasik and in Konkan.

ŚAKA ERA.

Thus, there being no strong argument against referring the inscriptions of Nahapāna, we have now to establish that the era owed its origin to Bhūmaka. Four kings at present claim to be the originator of the era, Wima Kadphises, Kanishka, Caṣṭana and Bhūmaka. Let us briefly examine their claims one by one.

Wima Kadphises.—According to Sten Konow, the *Hou Han-shu* states that Yen-kao-chen (Kadphises II) again conquered T'ien-chu (the Indus country), and 'we

¹⁸ *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, ed. Venkatesvara. Press, liv, 51f.

¹⁹ *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ed. Anandāśrama, xlv, 129f.

²⁰ *Mahābhārata*, ed. Krishna Sastri, I, ccxviii, 1f.

²¹ *IHQ*, 1930, p. 752.

get the impression that his conquest is described as reconquest. The *Kālakācāryakathānaka* too speaks of a second Śaka conquest in A.D. 78. Both these works seem to speak of the same incident. Wima Kadphises therefore is to be placed in A.D. 78, and he turns out to be the originator of the Śaka era.²² To this line of argument there is one objection: the Jaina work speaks of the Śaka conquest of Malwa, and the *Hou Han-shu* of the Indus country. A conclusion based on a combination of Indian and Chinese traditions relating to two distinct incidents is not decisive. A strong argument against the supposition that Kadphises II was the originator of the era is that he never dates his inscriptions in that era. His reign might have begun about this time, but that is a different question.

Kaniska.—The common view that Kaniska was the founder of the Śaka era receives a rude shock from the Khalatse inscription of the year 187 (c. A.D. 103) which mentions Wima Kadphises as ruling.²³ From his connection with Hermeus we know that Kujūla Kadphises was reigning in c. A.D. 50. Assuming that he died that very year, and leaving 20 years which elapsed between Kadphises II and Kaniska according to the Taxila stratification, we find only a period of eight years for the reign of Kadphises II, a period that is certainly too short for an emperor with wide conquests. In all probability Kaniska's reign should fall in the first half of the second century A.D., though it must be admitted that the date A.D. 128 is purely tentative.²⁴

Caṣṭana does not seem to have been the originator of the era, as supposed by Cunningham,²⁵ for he lived right up to c. A.D. 135 or 140. Such a reign is exceptionally

²² *CII*, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. lxviif.

²³ *Ibid.*, No. XXIX.

²⁴ Sten Konow does not now seem to lay any emphasis on the astronomical calculations of Van Wijk, according to which the era of Kaniska began in A.D. 79, 117 or 134 (*Acta Orientalia*, 1926, pp. 79f).

[P.S. Sten Konow has now radically changed his views on Śaka and Kuṣāna, chronology, *JRAS*, 1932, pp. 949 f.]

²⁵ *Numismatic Chronicles*, 1888, p. 232, etc.

long, and can only be regarded as a fact only if some corroborative evidence is forthcoming.

All other possibilities being thus barred out, I have no hesitation in ascribing the Śaka era to Bhūmaka. That the era belonged to central India is evident from the fact that the earliest genuine mention of the era in northern Indiā is an inscription of A.D. 872,²⁶ while in central India and Gujrat, it can be consistently traced almost from its epoch.

Al-Beruni states that the Śaka era was started after the destruction of the Śakas.²⁷ Some other eras have shared the same fate: the same writer, for instance, says that the Gupta era was started to commemorate the destruction of the Guptas,²⁸ and Ferishta has a similar tradition about Vikramāditya.²⁹ The confusion seems to have grown out of the Hindu habit of dating in expired years. Expressions like 'Śaka-narapater atītasamvatsare' could easily be misunderstood to mean 'in the year after the passing away of the Śakas.' A step further, and we come across the tradition that Sālivāhana (Sātavāhana) was the originator of the Śaka era, as the Sātavāhana Gautamīputra was responsible for the destruction of the Śakas.

ANDHAU INSCRIPTIONS.

The assumption that Caṣṭana and Rudradāman ruled conjointly is not an expediency but a *prima facie* necessity, it being not possible to derive any other conclusion from the Andhau inscriptions. The date-portion of all the six inscriptions runs as follows:—

'Rājño Caṣṭanaśa Ysāmotikaputrāśa rājño Rudradāmaśa varṣe dvipaṁcāśe 50 2.'

²⁶ Cf. Fleet, *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 818f.

²⁷ Al-Beruni, tr. Sachau, Vol. II, p. 6.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁹ Briggs, *Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, Vol. I, p. lxxv.

Banerji translates this passage as: 'In the year 52 of the reign of King Cāṣṭana, son of Jayadāman, (the grandson) of King Cāṣṭana, son of Ysāmōtika.'³⁰ He justifies the substitution of the word 'grandson' by saying that 'the cause of the absence of any word or phrase indicating the relationship between Cāṣṭana and Rudradāman... was due to the ignorance of the people of Andhau and does not indicate the joint-rule of the grandfather and the grandson.' It is strange indeed that the people remembered the name of the great-grandfather of Rudradāman, but did not know the relationship of Rudradāman with his grandfather. Had the people been really ignorant of the fact, they would have omitted the mention of Ysāmōtika and Cāṣṭana. One fails to understand why they should have been mentioned at all if their connection with the reigning sovereign was unknown. The natural translation of the above passage is: 'In the year 52, of King Cāṣṭana, son of Ysāmōtika, of King Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman,'—a rendering of which the implication is quite clear. The statement that nobody ever thought or tried to prove conjoint rule except Messrs. Bhandarkar stands self-refuted, Banerji himself trying to prove it in the case of Kaniska and Huviska.³¹ *Dvairājya* was known to Hindu theory and practice of government³² and the Kṣatrapas had certainly such a custom among themselves as is clearly shown by the overlapping of dates on Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa coins. The use of the title 'Rājan' before Rudradāman indicates nothing, as all Kṣatrapas used the title even when ruling under a Mahākṣatrapa.

PTOLEMY.

Ptolemy refers to three kings, Tiastenês (capital at Ozênê or Ujjayinī), Siro Polemaios (capital at Baithana

³⁰ *EI*, Vol. XVI, pp. 19f; for a similar translation, see *AHD*, p. 26.

³¹ *IA*, 1908, pp. 60f.

³² For examples, see *PHAI*, p. 308n; Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions of Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, p. 237; Majumdar, *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume*, Pt. I, p. 111n.

or Pratiṣṭhāna) and Baleokouros (capital at the unidentified town Hippokouros).³³ There is no doubt that the three kings were Caṣṭana, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi and one of the Viḷivāyakuras of the Kolhapur coins. As Senart points out, the terms in which Ptolemy speaks of them imply that they belonged to his own time.³⁴ According to the scheme of chronology followed above, Caṣṭana and Pulumāvi might well have been contemporaries between the years A.D. 135 and 140. About the date of Ptolemy, 'all that is known for certain about him is that he observed at Alexandria during the reigns of Hadrian and Antonius Pius between the years A.D. 127 and 141 or 151.'³⁵ There is no reason to place Caṣṭana and Pulumāvi in the beginning of the second century A.D. on the basis of Ptolemy, as Jouvean-Dubrenil has done.³⁶

CAPITAL OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS.

It will be seen above that Ptolemy makes Pratiṣṭhāna the capital of Pulumāvi. Tradition has the same thing about the victor of Nahapāna (Gautamīputra) as well as about the early Sātavāhanas. Pratiṣṭhāna evidently continued to be the capital of the Sātavāhanas at least up to the time of Pulumāvi, and there is no reason to think that Dhanakaṭaka or Benākaṭaka was the seat of Gautamīputra's government. The basis for this belief is the Nasik inscription No. 4, the first line of which reads :

‘Senāye vejayamtiye vijayakhandhāvārā Govadhanasa Benākaṭakasvāmi Gotamiputo Siri Sadakaṇi ānapayati.’

³³ McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, pp. 152 and 175.

³⁴ Senart, *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, Tome Second, p. 452. ‘L'idée que laissent naturellement les termes dans lesquels Ptolémée énumère ces souverains, Tiastenes, Siri Polemaios, Baleocuros, est qu'il parle de princes de son temps'. Bühler thought otherwise, *ASWI*, Vol. V, p. 72; also Majumdar, *JASB*, 1914, pp. 223f.

³⁵ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th Ed., s. v. ‘Ptolemy’.

³⁶ *AHD*, p. 40.

According to Senart, *vejayantiye* ought to be taken as a local name and as alluding to the town of Vaijayanti (Banawasi).³⁷ But as the Kanara region does not appear to have been under the sway of Gautamīputra, the word should best be taken as an adjective to *senāye*, 'the victorious army.' Further, I believe that *Benākatakasvāmi* should be broken up into *Benākatakā svāmi*, the first word being in the ablative case, as proposed by Rühler and Bhagwanlal Indrajī.³⁸ There appears to be an *ā*-mark on *ka*, even in Senart's estampage; moreover, in this particular inscription at least, there is a decent space between individual words, e.g., after *vijayakhandhāvārā*, *Govadhanasa*, *svāmi*, etc. Such a space we find after *Benākatakā*, which therefore must be taken as a word separate from *svāmi*. This word therefore should be regarded as a title of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Senart objects to this, for 'when *svāmin* is prefixed as a title, it is placed before the king's name, and not, as would be the case there, if Böhler and Bhagwanlal were right, before his metronymic.' This cannot be regarded as true in all cases, for there appears to have been no universal rule governing the position of the word.³⁹ Thus there is no evidence to prove that Benākataka or Dhanakataka was ever the capital of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

In the word *Dhanakataka-samanehi* of the Nasik inscription No. 3, D. R. Bhandarkar again finds a reference to 'the lord of Dhanakataka.'⁴⁰ But the word clearly stands for *Dhanakatakaśramaṇaiḥ*, 'the Śramaṇas of Dhanakataka.'

³⁷ Senart, *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 72. R. G. Bhandarkar read *Dhankataka* in place of *Benākataka* (*Transactions of the Second Session of the International Congress of Orientalists*, 1874, p. 323.).

³⁸ *ASWI*, Vol. IV, p. 104; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI, p. 559n.

³⁹ Cf. Sanchi inscription of Jivadāman, *EI*, Vol. XVI, pp. 232f: 'Bhagavatas tridaśa-gaṇa-senāpater Ajitasenasya *Svāmi*-mahāsena-mahāteja ādityavīrya-Jivadāma'

⁴⁰ *IA*, 1918, p. 152n.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ABI ... Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute.
- AHD ... Jouveau-Dubrenil, Ancient History of the Deccan.
- ASI-AR ... Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report.
- ASWI ... Archæological Survey of Western India.
- Cat ... Râpson, Catalogue of Coins of the Āndhra Dynasty, etc.
- CII ... Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, Pt. I, Sten Konow, Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions.
- DKA ... Pargiter, The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.
- EHD ... R. G. Bhandarkar, Early History of the Deccan. Third Edition, Calcutta, 1928.
- EI ... Epigraphia Indica.
- IA ... Indian Antiquary.
- IHQ ... Indian Historical Quarterly.
- JASB ... Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- JBBRAS ... Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- JBORS ... Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
- JRAS ... Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- KSS ... Kathāsaritsāgara, Ed. Nirṇayasāgara Press.
- List ... Lüders, A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, etc., Appendix to *EI*, Vol. X.
- MASI ... Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India.
- PHAI ... Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, Second Edition, 1927.
- PR-ASWI ... Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India.
- QJMS ... Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.
- ZDMG ... Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

SECTION IV
SANSKRIT



PLACE OF YOGA AMONG THE VARIOUS SCHOOLS OF INDIAN THOUGHT

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Introductory

In the history of Indian thought the name of Yoga is so very well-known because of its unique importance in human life and consequently, in the various schools of Indian thought as well. Just as it is not only too difficult but quite impossible to achieve the highest end of human life without the help of Yoga so is the case with the philosophical systems in India. No system can dare reach the ultimate truth or its different phases without it. There is a harmonious unity between the development of human life and that of the philosophical thought in India. In both the cases, it is only through the yogic efforts that one can know the Truth along with its different phases.

Everything in the universe has got some definite aim. Accordingly, human life also has got its own aim. This aim, for the good of human beings and to facilitate the realisation of the solemn nature of the aim itself, has been split up into four stages, namely, *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* in ascending order. These are known as *Puruṣārthas*.¹ At every stage a man is required to observe the philosophical discipline which is meant to train the enquirer into Truth as carefully as possible. Failure

¹ Bhāskara Rāya: *Setubandha*, a Commentary on *Yoginīhrada* the name given to the last three chapters (*Viśrāmas* VI-VIII) of the *Nityaśoḍaśikāraṇava*, which forms a part of the *Vāmakeśvara Tantara*, pp. 2-5.

in this means failure everywhere. There can be no success, no achievement of any aim without its strict observance.² This very observance is the beginning of Yoga. The period of training ends only when the highest *Puruṣārtha* is achieved. So is the case with Yoga. Thus an Indian *Darśana* begins with Yoga and ends in Yoga—the true realisation of one's own self; that is, when the *Jīvātman* and the *Paramātman* are realised to be one and the same.

But not everybody is qualified for this sort of training. Only those whose *adr̥ṣṭa* accruing from the meritorious deeds of the past comes to help them out of the worldly sufferings are admitted to this training. Thus under the influence of such an *adr̥ṣṭa* he comes to realise that the *samsāra* is governed by the law of Karma; according to which whatever a man performs or even desires to perform remains in some form or other with the *Manas* or the *Ātman* of that man until at the time of the fructification of the previous Karma it comes to bear its requisite fruit; it is only then exhausted. As the *samsāra* is beginningless the law of Karma also has no beginning. A man never finds himself free from the chains of Karma. These chains keep him bound life after life until the final emancipation is realised and that also is achieved through those very chains of Karma.

But as said above, under the influence of his meritorious *adr̥ṣṭa* he turns to be an enquirer into the ultimate nature of Truth. Since then he, in the course of the experience of the fruits of the past deeds, finds himself facing sufferings which everyone dislikes. He does not find happiness anywhere. He finds that even the so-called happiness is always mixed up with pain. This leads him

² Dr. Gangānātha Jhā: *Kamalā Lectures; The Philosophical Discipline*, pp. 11-99, Calcutta University Publication.

gradually to become disgusted with the *saṁsāra* itself. In other words, he realises now the true nature of the *saṁsāra*. Thereafter he begins to seek after the means of getting rid of pain and its causes, the chief constituents of the *saṁsāra*. By this time he has passed through some of the stages and enters what Bhāskara Rāya calls *Jñāna-Bhūmikā*.³

But then there is another side of it. We have seen that the man has become disgusted with the *saṁsāra* and naturally he does not like to remain in it and is trying to run away from it. But is it possible? Is it right? Would it bring to him the desired aim? No, he cannot get rid of the law of Karma so very easily and unless it is done he cannot free himself from the *saṁsāra*, howsoever disgusted he may be. It is the chain of Karma which keeps him bound in this *saṁsāra*. And the chains of Karma can be broken by *bhoga* alone. *Bhoga*, on the other hand, can be had only when the man is experiencing both the so-called pleasure and pain living within the currents of the *saṁsāra* and along with it is also following very strictly the rules laid down for the Yogic training and not by flying away from it. The *bhoga* will bring the exhaustion of the *Prārabdha-karma* and the observance of the yogic training will, in course of time, bring about the true knowledge whereby the man would be able to cut off the accruing of the *adrṣṭa* for future *bhoga*; so that, in course of time, the man would become free from the chains of Karma and would achieve the highest aim. This is the very brief substance of what *Darśana* in India wants to teach.

No training is possible without the help of the infallible authority. Such an authority for the orthodox

³ Setubandha, pp. 2-5.

schools of thought is the *Śruti* alone. Hence, that enquirer into the Truth approaches the *Śruti* to know the means of the realisation of Ātman which is the only truth and which alone is the highest aim. The *Śruti*, which is the teacher, teaches him “*Ātmā vā're draṣṭavyaḥ śrotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsitarvyaśca.*”⁴ O you must visualise the Ātman through *śravaṇa*, *manana*, and *nididhyāsana*. The first is to be had from the *Śruti* and it is the major premise. The *Śruti* being self-illuminated (*sva-prakāśa*) would have alone supplied the man with the necessary illumination but as a human being the man is beset with doubts, malice and wrong notions which stand in his way of immediate conviction. In other words, as a human being, the man is so much degenerated that he has hardly any faith (*śradhā*) even in the *Śrutis* now ; and without faith immediate conviction is impossible.⁵ Hence, the man naturally wants to reason out the truth taught by the *Śruti* itself ; so, he indulges himself into *Manana*. It represents the stage of pure speculation. But the experience shows that pure speculation can never lead to any right conclusion. It is clear from the histories of philosophy and science that conclusions arrived at through mere speculation are overthrown by counter-reasonings of stronger nature. Hence, it is essential to verify the conclusions through experiments. This experimentation is called *nididhyāsana*. It is the highest stage of Yoga. It is defined as the restraining of the *vṛtti* of *citta*.⁶ In other words, Yoga may be defined as that

⁴ Brhadāranyakopaniṣad, 2. 4. 5.

⁵ (i) ‘*Śraddhāvān labhate jñānaṁ,*’ Bhagavadgītā, 4. 39;

(ii) ‘*Śraddhā ca brahmavijñāne paramaṁ sādhanam,*’ Śaṅkarabhāṣya on Brhadāranyakopaniṣad, 2. 1. 1.

⁶ Yoga Sūtra I, 2.

which removes the dirt surrounding the *citta*; so that, the *citta* may become pure and be diverted freely towards the realisation of the Ātman leading to the realisation of its own self. The conclusion thus verified is unalterable.

The above-described three stages are recognised by every orthodox school of Indian thought. No system can neglect their importance. It is also clear by this very recognition that Yoga is the only help for all the orthodox schools in India to reach the final stage. It is, therefore, said that 'all the *Śāstras* beginning with the Vedas do include Yoga; because, they all aim at nothing but Yoga. Just as there are so many conch-shells, stones, waters, watery animals and others in the ocean, in the same way, there are Yoga and its different aspects in the rest of the *Śāstras* and the Vedas. It is very easy to find all possible things in the ocean except jewels which are found after a very great trouble. In the same manner, in the Vedas and in other *Śāstras* it is quite easy to find out topics of general interest and importance but it is very difficult to find out the Yoga, that is, the importance of Yoga and its place. In the Yoga-Śāstra, on the other hand, nothing but Yoga and its various aspects are found. There is nothing superfluous in it, just as, in the diamond mines nothing but diamonds are found. Such a Yoga can be had through the grace of the *guru* alone.'⁷

Such is the *mahimā* of Yoga-Śāstra. Now an attempt is being made here to give a brief history of the place of Yoga and its importance in the orthodox schools of Indian thought.

⁷ Gorakṣasiddhāntasaṅgraha, Part I, p. 21. Princess of Wales Sarasvatībhavana Text Series, Benares Publication.

A Brief History of the Place of Yoga in the Various Schools.

(i) *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*.—It is a well-known fact that Nyāya, in ancient times, used to be called Yogadarśana⁸ or Saivadarśana while Vaiśeṣika was called Pāsupata-darśana.⁹ * It is due to their being associated with the yogic teacher, namely, Śiva and Paśupati or Īśvara and Maheśvara ; and also due to their yogic nature of teachings. These two systems hold Īśvara or Maheśvara as their presiding deity.¹⁰ The nature of living and manners of these Naiyāyikas and Vaiśeṣikas are entirely on the lines laid down in the Yoga-Śāstra for the students of Yoga. Thus we are told that these Naiyāyikas and Vaiśeṣikas used to carry *daṇḍa* (staff) in their hands. Carrying *daṇḍa* is the outward expression of the subjection of *cittavṛtti*. They put on a very small piece of cloth called *kaupīna* in place of loin-cloth; they used blankets as wrappers of their body; they kept matted locks of hairs on their head; they besmeared their body with sacred ashes ; they put on sacred threads and carried a vessel of water (*kamaṇḍalu*) in their hand. They used to take food which had practically no taste; they lived in forest under some tree with a sort of gourd in the hand. They lived upon eatable substances growing under the earth, roots of plants and trees and fruits. They were always found busy in showing hospitality. Some lived there along with their wives while others lived without their

⁸ Vivekavilāsa MS. belonging to the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares; Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya of Rājaśekhara Sūri, p. 1, verse 4.

⁹ Guṇaratna's commentary on Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya of Haribhadra, p. 51.

¹⁰ Vide the last verse of the Prastapādabhāṣya.

wives¹¹ and were regarded as better than the former. They performed the penance called the worship of five fires (Pañcāgnivrata). After reaching the highest stage they remained and wandered naked.

It is further said that in the very early morning having performed their morning duties, having besmeared their body with ashes and contemplating of Śiva they used to approach their preceptor with folded hands and express their salutation as “*Om namaḥ Śivāya*” upon which the preceptor also used to rejoin as “*Śivāya-namaḥ*.” They worshipped Īśvara as their supreme lord and who is omniscient and is the master of production (*Sṛṣṭi*) and destruction (*Samhāra*). They believed in the following eighteen forms of Īśvara which are considered to be His *avatāras*. The forms are: Nakulīśa-Śoṣya-kaśīkaḥ, Gārgyaḥ, Maitrī, Akauruṣaḥ, Īśānaḥ, Pāra-gārgyaḥ, Kapilāṇḍaḥ, Maṇuṣyakaḥ, Kuśikaḥ, Ātriḥ, Piṅgalaḥ, Puṣpakāḥ, Vṛhadāryaḥ, Agastiḥ, Santānaḥ, Rāśīkaraḥ, and Vidyāguruḥ.

There used to be four following main divisions of these people—Śaiva, Pāśupata, Mahāvratadhara, and Kālamukha; and several subdivisions of which Bharata, Bhaktara, Laiṅgika, Tāpasa and several others are important. The Bharatas alone were the worshippers of all the sacred places (Tīrthas). No caste restriction was observed in order to be initiated into any of these. The only condition was that a man should be a staunch devotee of Śiva.¹²

These are their social and religious yogic aspects. Coming to their philosophy we find that beside the

¹¹ Manusmṛti, VI, 3.

¹² Gunaratna on Śaḍdarsanasamuccaya of Hariḥḍra, pp. 47-51.

recognition of *nididhyāsana*—a particular stage of Yoga—in their system they require the help of Yoga in several cases. Some of them are being referred to here. Thus they accept the existence of the yogic perception through the *Yogaja-sannikarṣa*, meaning the connecting link between the perceiving sense-organ and the object of perception which is supplied by Yoga. When, for instance, a *yogin* sees things which are beyond the reach of human sense-organ, the transcendental power acquired by Yoga supplies the connecting link and is known by the term *yogaja-sannikarṣo*. When the *yogin* is so far advanced in his yogic achievements as to see things distant at pleasure, he is known as *Yukta*, and when he sees such things after an act of concentration of the mind he is known as *Yuñjāna*, and the *sannikarṣa* as applied to their cases are called after them as *yukta* and *yuñjāna* respectively.¹³ They believe in the experience (*bhoga*) of pleasure and pain by the assumption of several bodies known as *Kāyavyūha* although apparently they appear to possess the same single body through the cognition of the previous merits and demerits by the help of the *yogic* powers.¹⁴ It is only through the experience of pleasure and pain by means of *Kāyavyūha* that after the *Tattvajñāna* the *bhoga* is exhausted and the final realisation is achieved.¹⁵

They also very frankly believe in the *Ārśajñāna* or *Prātibhajñāna* and classify it along with other forms of *Vidyā*. This is purely a *yogic* form of *jñāna*.¹⁶ Similarly, they talk of *Siddhadarśana* meaning the perception of

¹³ Bhāṣāpariccheda, Pratyakṣa, Verse 65.

¹⁴ Tarkabhāṣā, pp. 154-155. Reprint from the Pandit.

¹⁵ Commentary on the above by Viśvakarman, the Pandit Edition.

¹⁶ Padārthadharmaśāstrāṅgrāha of Praśastapāda, p. 258. Vizianagaram Edition.

things hidden from our sight or far away from us through the influence of certain *mantras*, etc.¹⁷ Both of these are included under the *Yogic-Pratyakṣa*. Besides, there are several points to show the importance of yoga in Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika.

(ii) *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā*.—The only school which obviously does not appear to recognise the importance of Yoga is the school of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā. But a close study of the system shows that it is not so. In some form or other this school also does recognise the necessity of Yoga. We know that the aim of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā is to explain *Dharma*.¹⁸ And through that the Mīmāṃsakas want to establish the eternity and the impersonality (*Apauruṣeyatva*) of the Vedas or Śabda. And it is also obvious that this is the foremost thought which is before the Mīmāṃsakas. All the philosophical problems of Mīmāṃsā are supporting the validity of Śabda and consequently, the Vedas.

Now it may be asked what is the conception of the Veda according to Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā? We find Kumārila Bhaṭṭa holding that the Vedas are the Divine Eyes (*Divyacakṣus*).¹⁹ It is needless to say that such a Veda is *svaprakāśa*. Now this very Divine nature of the Vedas is, really speaking, a substitute for the yogic achievements. This being the fact the system may not speak of the necessity of yoga but we cannot deny its very existence in the system. We find that there are regular rules for the study of the Vedas more or less on the same line as that of the Yoga.

¹⁷ Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra IX, 2-13 along with the Upaskāra of Sāṅkara Miśra.

¹⁸ Ślokavārtika, p. 4, Verse II.

¹⁹ *Vide* the first benedictory verse of Ślokavārtika.

(iii) *Sāṅkhya*.—A very close study of Sāṅkhya system shows that it is a school of thought which is so much neglected and misunderstood for a pretty long time. It is also clear from our studies of Sāṅkhya and other systems that once it was a well-read school of thought, perhaps it was because of the belief that “*Nāsti Sāṅkhyasamam jñānam*”; and consequently, every branch of learning including (*Kāvya* and *Sāhitya*) freely refers to the topics of Sāṅkhya. The fragments of Sāṅkhya found here and there show that there were several phases of the system with minor differences in detail. But no complete work is available of these except that which is the work of Īśvarakṛṣṇa, namely, Sāṅkhya-Saptati. Even after him it appears that the school was very much neglected. This sort of negligence destroyed the tradition of the school and consequently, later writers have experienced difficulties in interpreting the Kārikās of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Not only it is due to the loss of the tradition but also due to the different nature of the system itself. They thought that the teachings of the school were on ordinary lines and have explained them accordingly. They, most likely, lost sight of the subtle nature of the teachings and took help of their *Pāṇḍitya* alone to explain the thought. But we should remember that there is something beyond the *Pāṇḍitya*, I mean, the yogic insight, which alone can help in the true apprehension of the *tattvas* of Sāṅkhya. But the influence of materialistic advancement has turned the trend of mind of people due to which the clear insight has become impossible. In spite of this some who had that insight have given the real sense of the thought contained in the system.

• Like the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika the social and the religious nature of the Sāṅkhya people is also on the yogic lines.

Thus they used to carry either one staff or three staves in their hand; put on a small piece of cloth (*kaupīna*) round their loin; the cloths they used were coloured in red; they kept *Śikhā* (a handful of long hairs in the centre of their head representing the burning of the flames); they preserved matted locks of hairs on their head; or shaved their head with razor; they used to sit on deer-skin; they took food in the house of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣattriya, and Vaiśya; they lived upon five mouthful quantity of food (*Pañca-grāsa*); they used to repeat the *mantra* having twelve letters; they were known as *Paribrājakas*. These people used to address their preceptor uttering the words “*Oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya*” and the preceptor used to rejoin as “*Nārāyaṇāya namaḥ*.” Their abode was at *Vārāṇasī* (Benares). They were the followers of the *Arca-mārga* (the luminous path). It is believed that the Sāṅkhyas being very much opposed to *Himsā* had no faith in the *Karmakāṇḍa*-section of the Vedas. They were pure *Adhyātmavādins*.^{19a}

Coming to the philosophical side we find that the system begins with the stage at which the schools of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika stop. That is, the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika finish their treatment of the categories with the *Paramāṇus* which are not further divisible and hence are eternal. They are supersensuous. The Sāṅkhya, on the other hand, starts with the *Paramāṇus* themselves and carries its treatment to subtler and subtler *tattvas*. Here the *Paramāṇus* are no longer indivisible and eternal. They are reduced to still subtler primary elements called *Tanmātras*. Ākāśa is also not eternal according to the

^{19a} Guṇaratna's Commentary on *Śaddarśanasamuccaya* of Haribhadra Sūri, pp. 95-96, Bibl. Edition.

Sāṅkhya. Kāla and Dik have got no separate place in the list of its categories. We have said above that the Paramāṇus are supersensuous according to the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika who represent the commonsense view ; so that, the stages beyond that must be supersensuous. But we find that the Sāṅkhya holds that all the manifested (*vyakta*) *tattvas* are objects of our direct perception (*Pratyakṣa*)²⁰ Naturally, by *Pratyakṣa* we mean here the yogic *Pratyakṣa*; and this is the only kind of *Pratyakṣa* we have got in Sāṅkhya. Thus all these *tattvas* are yogic *tattvas*. The details of the process of *Pratyakṣa* are purely on the yogic lines. Even the minor details, for instance, the *Tuṣṭis*, the *Śaktis* and *Siddhis* are all yogic in nature. No topic of Sāṅkhya can be dealt with without the help of Yoga. The entire system is full of yogic terms. There is a belief that Sāṅkhya and the proper *Yoga-Śāstra* are not two different systems ; but both together form one complete system.

(iv) *Vedānta*.—Having given a brief account of the yogic nature of the Sāṅkhya, I now pass on to consider the place of Yoga in the Vedānta schools. The place of Vedānta is far subtler than that of the Sāṅkhya. Vedānta begins from the stage at which the Sāṅkhya finishes its treatment. The Śuddhā-Prakṛti of Sāṅkhya is to be merged into the Puruṣa in order to reach the final unity and this is done in the Vedānta. The purification of the *tat* and *tvam* and through this the identification of the Jīvātman with the Paramātman and finally the desired realisation of the Ātman are all shown in the Vedānta.

²⁰ Gaṇḍapāda's Bhāṣya on Sāṅkhya-Saptati, Kārikā 6, p. 6. Benares Edition.

To achieve this highest aim the man must be fully qualified; and the qualifications required are :

The man, the inquirer into the nature of truth, should have studied the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas on the lines laid down in the Śāstras or at least should have a general knowledge of all these, should have purified his *antaḥ-karana* by removing all the sins through the performance of daily and occasional rites, should have performed purificatory ceremonies (Prāyaścittas), and meditations having given up all the *Kāmya* and forbidden acts either of this life or those of the previous lives and must be equipped with the fourfold *sādhana*s, namely, the discrimination between the eternal and the non-eternal things; detachment from the desire for the experience of pleasure and pain regarding the fruits both of this world and of the world hereafter ; should have attained *Śama*, *Dama*, *Uparati*, *Titikṣā*, *Samādhāna* and *Śraddhā* and lastly, the desire for *Mokṣa*.²¹ After having this much of training the man is admitted to the study of Vedānta. The details of all these show that since the very beginning the man has to go through yogic training. Through the help of these when the man is fully advanced in his practices and has achieved entire control over the *citta* and has also purified it he comes to realise the nature of the Ātman.

We quite understand the value and the place of Yoga in Vedānta. Without the yogic training no one is even admitted to the teachings of Vedānta. From the beginning to the end we see that the practice of *yogic* training is indispensable. So says Vācaspati Miśra that the knowledge of the *Tattra* as the means of the final realisation of the Ātman requires the help of Yoga. The realisation

²¹ Sadānanda's Vedāntasāra, pp. 6-29. Vāṇivilāsa Press Ed. Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya on Brahma-Sūtra, 3. 4. 26.

of the Ātman can never be had without the practice of the *Bahirāṅga* of the Yoga, namely, Yama, Niyama, etc., and the *Antarāṅga*, namely, *Dhāraṇa* and the rest.²² This is about the Śāṅkara Vedānta.

As regards all other schools of Vedānta, which do not really aim at the unity taught by Śāṅkara, we know that even they cannot do without the help of Yoga. Whatever may be the aim of a school of thought the training of the *citta* is most essential. Its purification alone leads to the desired end; and this is possible only through the help of yogic practices. So we find Rāmānujācārya saying that the proper apprehension of the *Vidyā* meaning the *tattvajñāna*, can be had through the means of *Śama*, *Dama* and others.²³ This view holds good with Pūrṇaprajña and even with Bhāskara.²⁴ The fact is, that no school of thought can in any way deny the importance of Yoga; because, it is the only means of arriving at the Truth and every school of thought attempts to realise the Truth or its different phases.

(v) *Vyākaraṇa*.—I now come to the school of Vyākaraṇa the philosophical nature of which is long forgotten perhaps since the time of the great Yogic scholar Bhartṛhari. Although he had the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali as the basis of his work yet it is in his own work, namely, *Vākyapadiya*, that we really find the true nature of the Śāstra. This Śāstra belongs to the Āgama school of thought.²⁵ There is much in common with the Tāntrika school and the school of Kashmere Śaivism. According

²² Bhāmatī on Brahma-Sūtra, 2. 1. 3.

²³ Śrī-Bhāṣya on Brahma-Sūtra, 3. 4. 26-27.

²⁴ *Vide* their Bhāṣyas on 3. 4. 26-27.

²⁵ *Vākyapadiya*, 2. 488 along with the commentary of Puṇyārāja.

to this school of thought *Śabda* is the *Brahman*. This *Śabda* is nothing but the Veda. The realisation of this *Śabda-Brahma* is possible through Yoga in the form of the knowledge of the correctness of the words taught by Vyākaraṇa.²⁶ The well-known forms of *Śabda*, namely, *Parā*, *Paśyantī*, *Madhyamā* and *Vaikhārī* show its mystic nature. Of these, *Parā* is even beyond the reach of the yogins while the next two are only cognised through the yogic means.²⁷ The entire importance of this Śāstra is given on the correct use of *śabda* and they hold that it is through this alone that the highest aim, namely, *Śabda-Brahma-Jñāna* can be achieved.²⁸ Wrong use, on the other hand, leads to injurious results.²⁹

Grammarians call the Yoga, which is required to realise the luminous *Śabda*, namely, *Paśyantī*—the Supreme transcendent one and the background of all manifestations of *Śabda*, as *Vāgyoga*. It is only through this particular Yoga that the eternal peace and happiness are achieved.³⁰ We should not overlook the fact that the *Śabda-Brahma* is identical with this *Paśyantī*. So, it is clear that Yoga occupies a very important place in this school as well.

(vi) *Āgamas*: *Śākta* and *Saiva*.—The Śākta school otherwise known as the Tāntrika school is entirely a yogic system. *Śabda* which is *Mantramaya* is the *Parā Brahma*

²⁶ Puṇyārāja's commentary on Vākyapadīya, I. 144.

²⁷ Umesha Mishra, Physical Theory of Sound and Its Origin in Indian Thought, Allahabad University Studies, Vol. II, pp. 239-246.

²⁸ Pāṇinīya Śikṣā, Verse 51.

²⁹ Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, Paspasānhika, pp. 65-66, Nirṇaya-Sāgar Press, Bombay Edition—Mahāmahopādhyāya P. Śivadatta's Edition.

³⁰ Vide The Doctrine of Pratibhā in Indian Philosophy, The Annals of the Bhandārkar Institute, p. 14.

here. The entire universe is the manifestation of this *Śabda*.³¹ The system believes in all the yogic terms. The realisation of the highest entity is through the knowledge of all the details of the yogic *cakras* that is, the Psychic centres of manifestation of the aspects of the truth. Its teacher can be that person alone who, beside other qualifications, is learned in the yogic training,³² without which he is not entitled to train others.³³ Both in the *Mantra* section and in the *Pūjā* section the line of procedure is almost the same as that of the *Yogaśāstra*.

Coming to the Śaiva school of Kashmere which is also included under the Āgama school we find that the supreme head is Paramaśiva. When He wants to make a *Līlā* He splits Himself into Śiva and Śakti. The Śakti is the *Jñānasvarūpā*. The realisation of these *tattvas*, namely, Śiva and Śakti is through the process of Yoga, that is, the *Samādhi*. It is through *Samādhi* (the highest stage of meditation) alone that one can reach the desired stage, that is, the unity of Śiva and Śakti. The knowledge of the *Citiśaktisvarūpa* is then obtained. The man who achieves this is called Paramayogī.³⁴ These schools of Indian thought are purely mystic schools. The *tattvas* taught by these are apprehended through super-human powers which are not possible without the practices of yoga.

This is, in brief, the history of the place of Yoga in the schools of Indian thought. It must be noted down that

³¹ *Vide* the first benedictory verse of *Sāradātilaka*.

³² *Sāradātilaka*, Patala 2, Verse 144.

³³ Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's Commentary on *Ibid.*, p. 60, Benares Edition.

³⁴ *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* of Kṣemarāja, Sūtra 19, p. 46.

the entire effort of Yoga is to make the *citta* pure by removing the dirt surrounding it. As soon as the impurities are removed from it everything, however subtle and distant in time and space it may be, becomes revealed to it; so that, nothing remains hidden from its sight. This is known as *citta-śuddhi* or *sattvaśuddhi*.

According to the yogic thought the impurities can be removed by the inflaming of the *Kuṇḍalinī-cakra* and the opening of the *Suṣumnā* which bring about the desired *Jñāna*. That is, the rousing of the *Kuṇḍalinī* and the opening of the *Suṣumnā* are the chief means of the purification of *citta*. The key to this is in the hands of the teacher who through his grace (*Kṛpā*) alone can infuse the *Mantra* and make the pupil get the desired aim fulfilled. Of course, the efforts of the pupil cannot be denied. He has to train himself on yogic lines.